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CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BY

EDWIN A. GROSVENOR

PROFESSOR OF EUROPEAN HISTORY IN AMHERST COLLEGE



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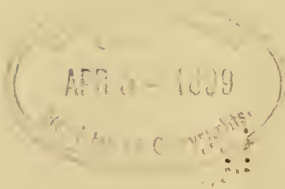
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INTRODUCTION



THIS book attempts to outline the most prominent political events in Europe and North America during the last fifty years. Hardly more than rapid indication of their distinctive and important features can be crowded into a few score pages. Moreover, adequate treatment must be the work, not of contemporaries, but of a far later time. What is recent has a tendency to fill the eye and destroy perspective. Mistakes of judgment and even of fact are liable in consequence of nearness.

None the less there is a place and a demand for such a book as this aims to be. It was first designed as continuation of M. Duruy's splendid "General History," which ends with the year 1848. It endeavors to follow the method and style of which the brilliant French historian was consummate master. Not content with mere narration, he sought to trace out both the cause and its result. These pages deal with a period that is seldom touched. Histories of every other past period abound, but not of this, so fresh in our experience that it trenches upon the present.

The year 1848, with which it commences, must be reckoned one of the turning-points in human history. The popular movements which it inaugurated were soon apparently checked or diverted into other channels. Nevertheless, at last an impulse had been imparted, which, however delayed, was no less surely to advance toward a definite goal. The glacier, held back for a time, was speedily to resume its resistless course. The map of the world, despite the momentous changes traced upon it during the last half century, discloses only a small part of the transformations which that half century has wrought. Yet no other period of equal duration has witnessed so many and so varied political changes. It saw the feudal atoms of Germany fused into

one imperial whole. It saw the fragments of Italy, for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire, united in common law under the rule of a single throne. It saw the Balkan provinces take their place as independent States. During this half century Africa and Oceania have been parcelled out and occupied by the Western Powers. The individuality of Asia has been lost in their incessant aggressions. The American Union has crossed the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, has almost doubled the number of its states, and more than trebled its population.

Yet the changes it has seen in the world's activities and thought are greater than upon the world's face. Old questions have been decided or pushed aside, and new questions, of which our grandfathers did not dream, await the dawning twentieth century. Commercial and social problems have forged to the front. Development of the individual battles with the concentration of authority. As Menu's age of thought paled before Fulton's age of steam, so that in its turn is being eclipsed by the age of electricity of Edison and Bell. Grand things will they behold who are to come after us. And we ourselves cannot know too much of the days in which we live.

EDWIN A. GROSVENOR.

AMHERST, MASS., U. S. A.,

February 9, 1899.

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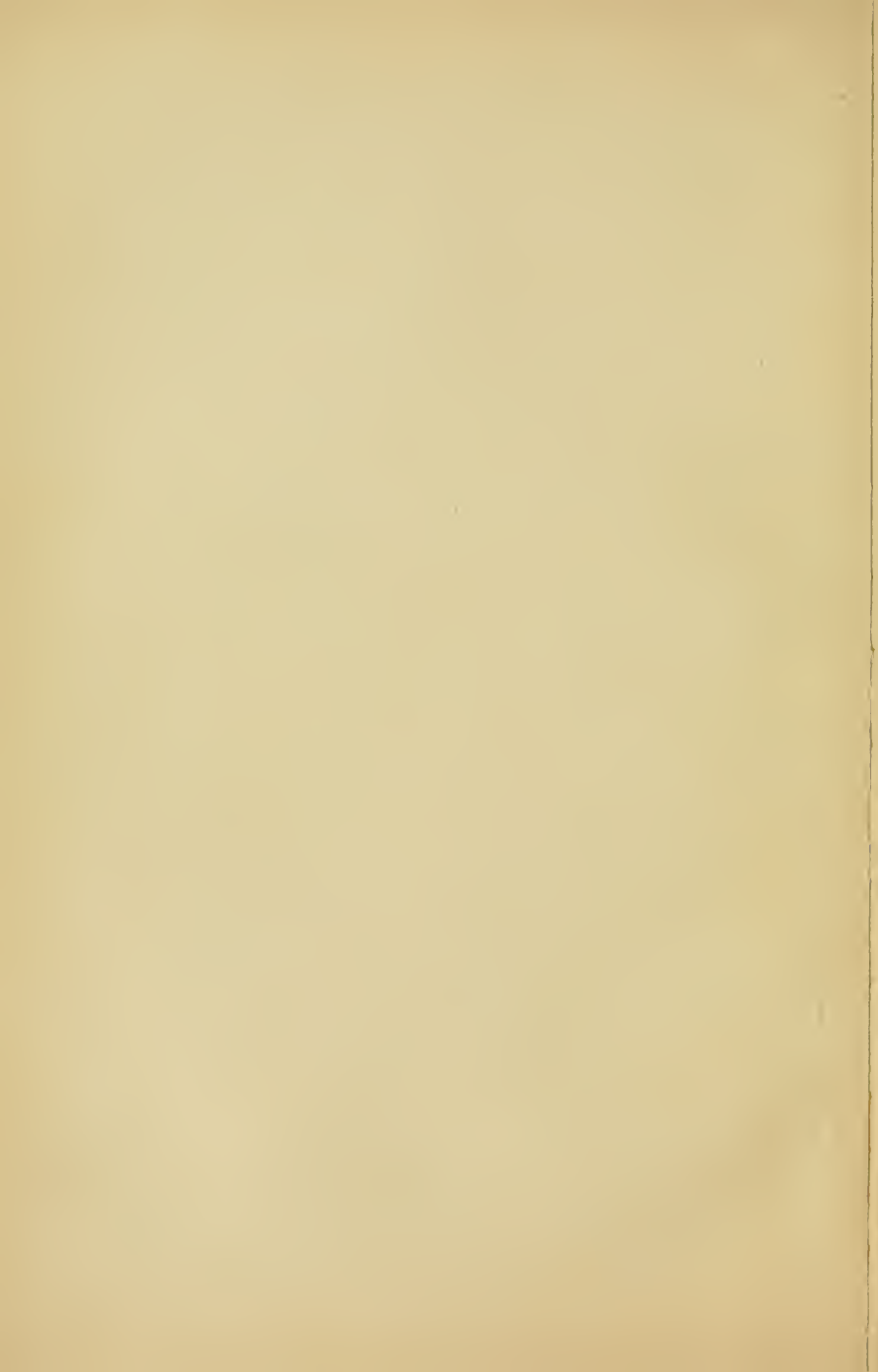
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CONTEMPORARY HISTORY



I

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 IN ITS INFLUENCE UPON EUROPE

Contemporary History. — The term “contemporary” may well be applied to the history of the world since 1848. The present leaders in all branches of activity were born before this period began. Many persons now living have watched the unfolding of each of its successive phases. It possesses a distinct character of its own. While preëminent in its scientific and humanitarian achievements, it has specially contributed to political progress, not so much in what it has originated as by what it has developed. More than most periods of like duration, it is the direct consummation of the years immediately preceding. It differs from them as the harvest differs from the seed-time.

Its most memorable achievements in the domain of politics have been along the lines of constitutional government and unification of nationality. Yet here as everywhere else human attainment is partial and incomplete, but these two contributions to the advance of humanity will be prominent as we narrate its story. Because we are so near the events to be described and because the sources of information are so many, the narration will be difficult. As contemporaries of these events we are ourselves tossed by the billows on which we gaze.

Outbreak at Vienna and Fall of Metternich. — The progress of the public mind is indicated as we compare the effect produced in foreign countries by the successive French revolutions of 1789, 1830 and 1848. The first revolution was attended nowhere by any immediate popular uprising and apparently concerned only the kings. The second

caused commotions and renewed demands for constitutions in some of the smaller states, but the disturbances were soon repressed. The third came upon Europe as an electric shock. West of Russia and of the Ottoman Empire every state was convulsed.

Reactionary Austria, of whose policy the astute Metternich had been for almost forty years at once the incarnation and the champion, was among the first to feel its effects. The Provincial Estates of Lower Austria were only the phantom of a deliberative assembly without power or influence. But they served as a rallying point to the excited populace of Vienna, destitute of organization or of a centre. The Estates were to convene on the 13th of March, seventeen days after the fall of Louis Philippe. When they assembled the whole city was in an uproar. Immense crowds, headed by students, surrounded the hall. They demanded that the Estates should be their messengers to the emperor and should make the following demands: regular publication of the state budget, open session of the courts, freedom of the press, reform in municipal administration, and a general parliament to which all classes should be eligible. The terrified Estates called the troops to their assistance. A hand-to-hand fight raged through the streets between the soldiers and the people, and many lives were lost. The tumult constantly increased, but the citizens could not reach the imbecile Emperor Ferdinand IV, who was kept in concealment. The battle-cry was "Down with Metternich!" The veteran statesman was forsaken by all his colleagues. At last he saw that resistance was useless. On the following day he escaped from the capital in a laundry cart. The emperor was induced by his attendants to give a verbal grant of all that the revolutionists demanded, but Vienna was placed under martial law. Finally, on April 25, an illusory constitution was proclaimed. Three weeks later the emperor fled to Innsbruck. Nevertheless his authority seemed at no time endangered. Metternich fallen, the people supposed that everything was gained.

Troubles in Bohemia. — The Bohemians had acted even more quickly. On March 11, at a public meeting in Prague, they drew up a petition, asking however little more than improvement in the condition of the peasants and a general system of public instruction. The news from Vienna made them bolder. The students formed an aca-

demic legion. A few days later a second petition demanded reconstitution of the Bohemian crown, a Bohemian Diet, a Bohemian ministry, and full equality between the Slavs and the Germans in the kingdom. A committee was sent to convey these demands to Vienna, where it was well received; but in the constitution promulgated on April 25 all their claims were ignored. The irritation of the Czechs became more intense. A congress of all the Slavic peoples assembled at Prague. Its chief object was to secure recognition of the race rather than the rights of individuals. Against such recognition the government and all the other nationalities of the empire were bitterly opposed. Prague was captured by the imperial troops and martial law proclaimed.

Revolt in Hungary. — A movement, in some respects similar to that in Prague, was meanwhile in progress under the lead of Kossuth at Pressburg and Pesth. There, however, the desire for reforms was subordinate to the still stronger desire for emancipation from Austria. Its dominant motive was the sentiment of awakened Hungarian nationality. But it in no way included antagonism to the sovereign, to whom on many occasions the Magyars have shown a loyalty surpassing that of the Austrians. Nor did it include recognition of the just demands of the various Slavic and other peoples who constituted a large proportion of the population. In April Ferdinand IV granted whatever was asked, practically recognizing Hungary as an autonomous state with himself as its sovereign. Count Batthyany was authorized to form the first Hungarian ministry.

These measures discontented the Slavs, especially the Servians and Croats. The newly appointed Ban of Croatia, Jellachich, took up arms, proclaiming his opposition to those "who want liberty only for themselves and who wish to monopolize for the Magyar minority the treasures acquired by the sweat of the Slavs, the Germans and the Roumanians." A partisan of absolute rule and apparently in secret alliance with the emperor, Jellachich marched upon Pesth. Batthyany resigned, but Kossuth was appointed to organize the national defence. His volunteers defeated the Ban. The Viennese, through hatred of the Slavs, showed a momentary passionate sympathy for the Hungarians. They rose against the government on October 7, and begged the assistance of the Hungarians

against Jellachich, who now threatened Vienna. The new allies arrived too late, for the capital had been already stormed and the ringleaders put to death. Jellachich was appointed generalissimo. Now, in behalf of the emperor, he was about to turn his arms against the Hungarians, who boasted meanwhile that they were "faithful to the sovereign beloved by Hungary." Feeble-minded and exhausted, Ferdinand gladly abdicated in favor of his nephew, Francis Joseph. The Magyars refused to accept this abdication and their excessive loyalty gave them the attitude of rebels.

Commutations in Italy. — Piedmont was independent, but Austria dominated almost all the rest of Italy by her arms or influence. Lombardy and Venice were subject provinces. The Milanese rose, and on March 18 they forced Radetzki, the Austrian commander, to evacuate the city and retreat to Verona. At Venice the Austrians seemed paralyzed. Daniel Manin was made the chief of the provisional government which proclaimed the Republic of Saint Mark. The fire of insurrection rapidly spread. Soon only a few fortresses were left on the Mincio and Adige, where Radetzki was resolved to hold out to the last. Forced by the clamors of his people Charles Albert, king of Piedmont, on March 26 entered Milan to support the revolution.

Rome and Florence were still racked by the agitations of the preceding year. The news of the French Revolution came like a wind upon smouldering embers. Pius IX was affrighted at the sweep of principles with which by nature he was in sympathy. But he granted the Romans a constitution and a government by two Chambers, and called his sagacious counsellor, Rossi, to the ministry. The Grand Duke of Tuscany hesitated but seemed to incline toward reform. The king of Naples, Ferdinand II, endeavored to temporize with his subjects, though granting a constitution and creating a united parliament for Naples and Sicily. The revolutionist Pepe even persuaded him to send an army of 13,000 Neapolitans to the assistance of Charles Albert. The impetuous Sicilians rejected all overtures from their sovereign and declared themselves independent.

Popular Demands in Prussia and other German States. — In Baden, Würtemberg, Saxony and western Germany repressed liberal sentiment at once found expression. Everywhere there were demonstrations, sometimes tumultuous

and often violent. In Bavaria the people forced Louis I to abdicate. But Berlin was the centre of agitation. There the fall of Metternich, the recognized exponent of the autocratic system, produced even more profound impression than in Vienna. Excited crowds filled the streets. In public meetings the popular grievances were incessantly and earnestly set forth.

Frederick William IV was slow in deciding whether to resist or to put himself at the head of the universal demonstration. Finally, on March 18, a royal edict announced that the king would favor the introduction of constitutional government into every German state and the establishment of a parliament wherein all Germany should be represented. The rejoicing citizens by thousands flocked to the palace. Their cheers were mistaken for an attack and the troops discharged their guns upon the defenceless masses. At once the burghers all over the city flew to arms. Nor was the riot suppressed until more than 200 citizens had been slain and as many soldiers killed or wounded in consequence of a terrible blunder. When order was restored, the king by a dramatic act gained immense popularity. At the head of a solemn procession he rode through the streets, ostentatiously wearing the gold, white and black, the colors he had formerly proscribed and which were the symbols of the German Fatherland. He furthermore announced that he assumed the leadership in the great work of German unification. Union was even dearer to the German heart than was liberty. But, in addition, the sovereign promised radical and comprehensive reforms in the whole system of government and administration.

The German National Assembly. — A few days later, in response to a general invitation, several hundred liberals met at Frankfort to prepare the draft of a constitution and formulate measures to be submitted to the forthcoming National Assembly. They frittered away their strength in political manœuvres and retarded rather than strengthened the triumph of principles they should have advanced. Meanwhile, everywhere throughout the German states the deputies were being chosen for the National Assembly. On May 18 they held their first session in the newly erected church of Saint Paul at Frankfort. That was the grandest and most inspiring political gathering Germany had ever beheld. It was composed of her most patriotic and illus-

trious sons. Now were brought together within the walls of a single edifice all who had most contributed to the common welfare, and to them was confided the task of national regeneration. In its promise this was the golden day of German history.

II

THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC

(1848-1852)

The Provisional Government. — It was installed by the mob on the day of revolution, and its title to authority was based upon the submission with which for a time its orders were received. The provinces as usual acquiesced in the government set up at the capital. The eloquent orator, Lamartine, was at the head as minister of foreign affairs and Ledru-Rollin was minister of the interior. The latter was a radical. The other ministers were moderate republicans. This suddenly improvised government was without cohesion or plan. Yet, while ruling as a despotic oligarchy, it seemed ardently though vaguely desirous of doing something noble. In order to furnish occupation to the unemployed it set up national workshops and guaranteed work with pay or pay without work to every citizen. Soon it had on its roll the names of over 120,000 men, one-half of the laboring population of Paris. Meanwhile it supplied bread to their families in proportion to the number of children. Private enterprise became disorganized, and those evils increased which the national workshops were designed to cure.

Universal suffrage had been proclaimed. On April 23 elections were held all over France for the choice of deputies to a national assembly. Ten days later the Assembly met. It reaffirmed the Republic and commended the provisional government, most of whose members it reappointed to office as an executive commission. The socialist leaders of Paris raised mobs and endeavored to seize the power, but their first attempt was put down by the national guard. The national workshops had become the greatest menace to the state. The Assembly ordered that all the younger men enrolled in them should enlist in the army or cease to receive pay.

The Barricades. — Then broke out a fearful insurrection at Paris. Barricades were suddenly erected all over the eastern part of the city and were defended with military precision by the rioters. In the emergency General Cavaignac, the minister of war, was appointed dictator. The pitched battle of the streets began June 23 and lasted four days. However disguised by party names, it was a conflict between the penniless and the moneyed classes and a menace to the rights of property. The insurgents held their ground with savage courage and were not subdued until 8000 persons had been slain and 12,000 taken prisoners. Among the victims were two deputies, seven generals, and the venerable archbishop of Paris, Monseigneur Affre. Horrified at the fratricidal slaughter he had climbed a barricade, where the fighting was hottest, and was shot down while imploring the combatants to throw away their arms.

General Discontent. — The frightful victory left the government not the less humiliated and weakened. Apprehension and discontent pervaded all classes, not only at Paris but throughout France. The masses were sullen because none of the socialistic utopias, prophesied so often of late, had been realized. The well-to-do classes were panic-stricken at the peril property had just undergone and at future perils in store. The state revenues diminished, therefore taxation increased. But commerce and manufactures were paralyzed in the absence of confidence, and it was more difficult to pay.

The Assembly hastily laid the foundations of a new constitution. It confided the executive power to a president, elected for three years by universal suffrage and responsible only to the people. It confided the legislative power to a single chamber, elected to hold office for four years. In the president was vested all power of appointment in the various branches of administration. He was to negotiate treaties and exercise an indefinite control of the army, but he could not take command of the troops or dissolve the Assembly or veto a measure which he disapproved. His power was either too little or too great. While declared ineligible for a second term of office, it would not be difficult with the means at his disposal to regain or retain the presidential authority were he so disposed.

The two chief candidates for the presidency were General Cavaignac and Prince Louis Napoleon. The former was a

consistent republican, a soldier rather than a statesman, and the conqueror of the barricades. But the victory, won in the blood of Frenchmen, rendered him unpopular even with his own party. The latter was the nephew and heir of Napoleon. All his life an exile from France, he had returned on the fall of Louis Philippe, but when the provisional government requested him to leave the country, he had complied. In June, elected to the Assembly in four different departments, he had resigned, though reserving his liberty of action. Elected in September by five departments, he no longer withdrew, but took his seat. The romance of his personal history, his manifest calmness and self-control, and above all, the magic of the great name he bore, made him a formidable candidate. His electoral address to the nation was a model of tact and shrewdness. He received 5,434,226 votes, while General Cavaignac could secure only 1,448,107.

Presidency of Louis Napoleon. — His first year in office was marked only by the expedition to Rome, the election of a new Assembly, and a presidential message, memorable for its energetic and even aggressive tone. The second year the inevitable divergence between the chief magistrate and the legislative body became more marked. The Assembly was composed of nearly equal groups of Legitimists, Orleanists, and Republicans. The two former regarded the actual government as a makeshift or usurpation, which was to give way eventually to the coronation of the Bourbon, Henry, Count of Chambord, or of Louis Philippe, Count of Paris, grandson of the deposed king. All their energies were devoted to that end.

Public opinion overwhelmingly demanded revision of that clause of the constitution which declared a president ineligible to reëlection. Less than two-thirds of the Assembly voted for revision, but it could be carried only by a vote of three-fourths. In May a decree had been passed which deprived over 3,000,000 Frenchmen of the right of suffrage. It was a fair charge that the Assembly had destroyed universal suffrage and, by refusing to revise the constitution, had denied the people the exercise of choice. The third year was spent in irritating discussions and political manœuvring on both sides. On November 4, 1851, the president demanded the repeal of the law which restricted the suffrage. The Bill of Repeal was defeated by seven votes.

Between president and Assembly it was henceforth a question which should first be able to overthrow the other.

The Coup d'Etat (December 2, 1851). — The Assembly was at the disadvantage of being a many-headed, many-minded body. Louis Napoleon could take his measures with the effectiveness of profound secrecy. On the evening of December 1 he held the customary thronged reception at the Palace of the Elysée. Nothing in his bearing betrayed preoccupation or excitement. At the usual hour he withdrew and closeted himself with his half-brother, De Morny, the minister of war, St. Arnaud, and the prefect of the police, De Maupas. They alone were acquainted with his plans and upon them depended their execution. Before daybreak every formidable opponent of the president had been arrested, the principal quarters of Paris occupied by guards, and despatches sent out to the 40,000 communes of France announcing what had been done. Innumerable manifestoes, everywhere attached to the walls, proclaimed that the president on his own responsibility had dissolved the Assembly, restored universal suffrage, and appealed to the people to express its verdict on his acts in a plebiscite to be held within two weeks. He proposed a new constitution which provided for a senate, council of state, and legislative chamber, and which lengthened the presidential term to ten years. A glowing proclamation was also addressed to the army.

A portion of the Assembly on the next day endeavored to hold a session, but the deputies were arrested. Disturbances broke out in various parts of the capital and in the provinces, but were quickly suppressed. Sixty-six radical deputies were exiled as well as a number of monarchists. But Paris, as well as France in general, received the news of the coup d'état with indifference or satisfaction.

III

TRIUMPH OF REACTION IN EUROPE

Subjugation of Hungary. — The real ruler of Austria in December, 1848, was Prince Schwartzenberg, the head of the ministry. His political principles differed little from those of Metternich. He proposed to tolerate no reforms save such as should be extorted and to reduce all other ambitions in the empire to complete subjection to the Austrian Germans. Austria in its medley of races and of débris of other states is the most heterogeneous power in Europe. By a playing off of race against race and utilizing each to overthrow some other, Schwartzenberg proposed to attain his ends.

The Hungarians regarded the new emperor as a usurper, and hence must be reduced to subjection. Though fighting to preserve Magyar independence of Austria and to maintain the concessions granted them by Ferdinand, they treated their subjects in their Transylvanian and Slavic provinces as oppressively as the Austrians had treated them. The Austrian general, Puchner, subdued Transylvania. Windischgrätz, with the main army, invaded western Hungary and captured Pesth. Dissensions speedily broke out between the orator Kossuth, the head of the committee of defence, and General Görgei, commander of the army. Kossuth removed Görgei and appointed a Pole, the incapable Dembinski, to the chief command. The Austrians won a series of successes, but Schwartzenberg alienated the Slavs, who offered to unite with their hereditary foes, but the Hungarians rejected their overtures. Görgei was restored to his command and he and Bem swept the invaders from the country, leaving only a few fortresses in their hands. The Hungarian Diet declared that the house of Hapsburg had forfeited its rights to the throne and that Hungary was henceforth an independent state. Austria had been thoroughly defeated. The only resource left her was to entreat the willing intervention of the Tsar.

Eighty thousand Russians entered from the north while

equally overwhelming forces marched from the south and east. The Hungarians, though constantly defeated, fought heroically against hopeless odds. General Klapka made a magnificent defence at Komorn. The last battle was fought at Temesvar on August 10, 1849. Three days later Görgei, to whom Kossuth had resigned the dictatorship, surrendered with all his forces to the Russians at Villagos.

Exasperated by the consciousness that they had been rescued from defeat only by the intervention of Russia, the Austrians inflicted terrible atrocities upon the vanquished. Bem, Kossuth and other leaders with about 5000 Hungarians escaped to Turkey, where they found generous protection. The Sultan, although threatened with war by Russia and Austria, refused to surrender the refugees. Hungary was crushed. Its political existence, for a time at least, seemed annihilated.

Return to Absolutism in Austria. — A Constitutional Assembly had met on July 22, 1848. In the polyglot body eight nationalities were represented. It was a burning question as to which language should be declared official. The deputies sat like enemies in as many hostile groups. Every theory found fierce expression. Order and even decency of debate were impossible. Nevertheless at their request the emperor returned to the capital. In a street riot Latour, the minister of war, was stripped naked and hanged to a lamp-post. The timorous emperor fled to Olmütz, thinking he would find his most trusty protectors among the Slavs. But he left a manifesto behind, wherein he declared that he would take such measures as he thought best to repress anarchy and preserve liberty. An imperial rescript suspended the sessions of the Assembly, although authorizing them to meet some weeks later at the Moravian town of Kremsier. Only a meagre fraction availed themselves of the permission. Meanwhile Schwartzenberg was appointed to the Cabinet, inasmuch as he knew "how to put down revolutions." Yet the ministry made a general declaration in favor of constitutional liberty. Their most difficult task was to find an equilibrium between the various Austrian states and to regulate the relations of the whole with Germany, of which the Austrian Empire constituted a part. Yet by March 4, 1849, an anomalous and impracticable constitution had been devised. In the universal discontent it was never put into execution. So Schwartzenberg

could well declare that it was only "a basis on which to reëstablish the authority of the throne." On January 1, 1852, this figment of a charter was definitely suppressed. Nothing had been gained except a slight improvement in the condition of the peasants.

Defeat and Abdication of Charles Albert. — The king of Piedmont had staked his crown upon the issue of war. He dreamed of a reunited Italy under the leadership of his house. But provincial jealousies chilled enthusiasm and hampered unity of action. Each insurgent state concerned itself with its own interests and failed to realize that victory was possible only through concerted effort. The king was a royalist, suspicious of republicanism and of any popular movement. He even disdained the volunteers who were ready to flock to his standard. Nevertheless many of those volunteer bands were to show surprising military qualities when pitted against the veterans of the enemy. Radetzki was one of the few able generals whom Austria has produced. Though over eighty years of age, he was a most formidable antagonist.

On June 24, 1848, a day of intense heat, the decisive battle was fought at Custozza. The defeated Piedmontese withdrew to Milan where bitter quarrels broke out between them and the Milanese. The king surrendered the city and afterwards signed an armistice, agreeing to take no farther part in the war. He had hitherto refused the conditional assistance of the French. Now, when he implored it without conditions, it was too late.

Custozza had really decided the fate of Italy. Her chief soldier withdrawn from the conflict, the submission of the peninsula to the old system was henceforth only a question of time. But the patriots held out with surprising tenacity and with even increasing vigor. Both at Florence and Rome democratic republics were proclaimed and constitutional assemblies convoked. A new wave of resolution swept over the land. But the political question had become complicated with the ecclesiastical question. Cardinal Antonelli asked for the interference of the four Catholic Powers, Austria, France, Spain and Naples, in behalf of the Pope. Austria was ready to act, but Louis Napoleon despatched 7000 men to Rome, though the object of the expedition was not at first clear. Ferdinand of Naples had reduced Sicily and was trampling on his prom-

ises of reform. Bombardment of his Sicilian cities had given him the nickname of "King Bomba," which the subsequent atrocities of his reign were to render odious.

In Piedmont the vociferous populace and the parliament demanded that Charles Albert should again attack Austria, inasmuch as she was apparently the only foreign state which the Italian cause had to dread. The king yielded. But he counted on no assistance from Rome or Florence and he knew that his own army was disinclined to the war. He entered upon the campaign rather as a martyr than as a soldier. It was, and it could be, only disastrous. Despite the heroism of his troops, he met a crushing defeat at Novara. On the evening after the battle the unhappy sovereign abdicated the throne in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel.

The heart of revolution was now at Rome. Mazzini, like a modern Rienzi, and the impetuous Garibaldi inflamed the resolution of the people not to submit. But it was the French under General Oudinot and not the Austrians who attacked and then invested the city. After a siege, lasting twenty-nine days, despite prodigies of valor on the part of the besieged, the capital was taken and the Roman republic overthrown by the soldiers of republican France (June 29, 1849).

The catastrophe of Novara and the fall of Rome could not shake the courage of Venice. Nowhere was the Austrian rule more abhorred, yet nowhere were fewer crimes and excesses committed in the effort to shake it off. Her resistance lasted seventeen months. During 146 days she experienced all the horrors of siege and bombardment. She succumbed only to the exhaustion caused by famine and cholera. To Venice and to her illustrious dictator, Manin, attaches purer glory than to any other Italian state or leader in the agony of the struggle. On August 28, 1849, the triumphant Austrian flag floated once more over the Piazza of Saint Mark. And the former rulers and the old ways were restored throughout Italy.

Conservatism of Pius IX. — On his accession he had shown sympathy with constitutional liberty. But he dreaded the excesses of the democracy. Desirous of reform, he wished it to come gently and gradually. The frenzied passion of Mazzini appalled him even more than did the iron rule of Radetzki. Though a temporal prince,

he shrank from military action because head of the church. So he refused to yield to popular clamor and declare war against Austria. But in September, 1848, he called Count Rossi to preside over the papal Cabinet, and thus indicated his fixed purpose to pursue a policy of moderate liberalism.

There was at that time safety for no man in Rome unless an extremist. Two months later the capable and patriotic minister was stabbed by an anarchist on the very day when he was to open the session of the Chambers with a speech, promising to abolish the rule of the cardinals, to institute a lay government and to insist upon the emancipation and unification of Italy. A radical mob attacked the papal palace. The Pope in disguise escaped to Gaeta. When the Roman republic was proclaimed his temporal power was abolished. Not till 1850 did he return to his capital. No longer did he manifest any inclination toward reform. No triumph of reaction anywhere was more to be deplored than that which it had gained over the mind of the sovereign pontiff.

Dissolution of the General Assembly at Frankfort. — Despite the patriotism and learning of its members, it is a melancholy fact that the Assembly was doomed to failure from the start. It had been elected to draw up a constitution for all Germany, but the degree of its authority was a disputed point and it possessed no means of enforcing its decrees. It could only discuss and recommend. There was not in Germany a race problem as in Austria, and on the part of the German peoples there was a common desire for union. But the country was still too torn by violent and determined factions and too distracted by the selfish aims of the different states to secure common and voluntary acceptance of the salutary measures which might be proposed. Furthermore the deputies were not practical men but theorists without tact or political experience.

For a time however its measures commanded respect. Thus, when it decided to replace the Diet by a central executive and elected Archduke John of Austria as administrator of Germany, the archduke accepted the office and the Diet resigned its authority into his hands. But when the troops of the confederation were ordered to swear fidelity to this administrator, Austria and Prussia ignored the order, and it was obeyed only in the smaller states. Fickleness in dealing with the troubles in Schleswig-Holstein weakened

its influence. Days were wasted in sterile debates on trivial matters.

At the same time, at Berlin, the Prussian national Assembly was holding stormy and fruitless sessions and the city itself was for months in a condition little better than anarchy. Tired of oratory and street turmoil, the Prussians were not displeased when royal decrees placed their capital under martial law and dissolved their Assembly. This failure of the Prussian Assembly at Berlin had an injurious effect upon the General Assembly at Frankfort.

Nevertheless, it patched together a constitution for the whole empire and elected as emperor Frederick William IV the king of Prussia. The constitution was at once rejected by Austria, Bavaria, Saxony and Hanover, and Frederick William in a guarded manner declined the crown. The Assembly daily dwindled away until less than a hundred delegates remained. It was removed to Stuttgart on May 30, 1849, and was finally dispersed by the police. Nothing had been gained. All things continued as they were before.

IV

THE SECOND FRENCH EMPIRE

The Plebiscites of 1851 and 1852. — A French plebiscite is an expression by universal suffrage wherein only "yes" or "no" is answered to a question submitted for decision. The constitution proposed December, 1851, was accepted and the presidential power for ten years conferred on Louis Napoleon by a plebiscite of 7,437,216 "yes" and 640,737 "no."

The decennial presidency heralded the empire. A year afterwards the Senate asked for a plebiscite on the proposition that the empire should be restored in the person of Louis Napoleon and of his descendants. The affirmative vote was 8,157,752, the negative 254,501. So the empire was solemnly proclaimed on December 2, 1852, the anniversary of the coronation of the first Napoleon. The crowned president was speedily recognized as Napoleon III by all the courts of Europe. In the following January he married a Spanish lady of Scottish ancestry, Eugénie de Montijo, Countess of Teba.

Worn out by the turmoils of the preceding years, indignant at the secondary rôle she had filled in Europe since 1815, France desired a strong government which would ensure tranquillity at home, and hence restore credit and develop material prosperity while at the same time making her respected abroad. There can be no doubt that the vast majority of the people were content to leave in the hands of the new "emperor of the French" a power hardly inferior to that exercised by a sultan or shah. The constitution centralized all authority in the person of its elected chief. He alone could command the army, direct public policy, decide upon war, and conclude peace. The ministers, appointed by him, were responsible only to him. They were rather his secretaries or functionaries than a cabinet. The legislative body, elected for six years, voted upon the taxes and the laws submitted to it by the Council

of State, but could of its own initiative propose nothing. The Senate consisted of 150 members, who were appointed for life by the emperor. It revised the laws voted by the legislative body and could accept or reject them as it deemed best. The Council of State was likewise named by the sovereign.

The Crimean War (1853-1856). — A famous apothegm of Napoleon III, "The empire is peace," was to be refuted by events in Eastern Europe. Since the days of Francis I and Souleïman the Magnificent, France had been the traditional ally of the Ottoman Empire. Sometimes, as under Napoleon I, such relations had been interrupted, but the sentiment none the less existed. Furthermore, France was recognized by the Ottomans as the protectress of Latin Christians in the East. So, when troubles broke out in 1853 between Russia and Turkey, — nominally over a monkish question as to the guardianship of certain holy places in Jerusalem and as to the claim of the Tsar to exercise protection over the Orthodox Greek subjects of the Sultan, — Napoleon found a felicitous occasion to draw the sword.

Great Britain was above all other states interested in the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire. The sovereign of the French, though officially recognized, was everywhere regarded as an imperial parvenu. An alliance between him and Queen Victoria, granddaughter of George III, — the only sovereign in Europe who had persistently refused to acknowledge Napoleon I as emperor, — would dazzle the French and add a peculiar splendor to his crown. His overtures were well received. When the Ottoman fleet in the bay of Sinope was destroyed by the Russians (November 30, 1853), the French and British squadrons entered the Black Sea. A few months later, France and Great Britain signed a treaty with Turkey and formed an offensive and defensive alliance with each other.

Prussia though inactive sympathized with Russia. Austria hesitated, remembering that her endangered political existence had been preserved by Russia in 1849, and yet not unwilling that the overshadowing Muscovite Empire should receive a check. Without allying herself with the Western Powers, she demanded that the Russians should evacuate the Danubian principalities which they had occupied.

Cronstadt in the Baltic was the key of St. Petersburg.

Failing in attack upon this fortress, which the British admiral in command, Sir Charles Napier, declared was impregnable, the allies resolved to concentrate their efforts in an invasion of Russia from the south. Odessa had been successfully bombarded in April.

A French army under Marshal St. Arnaud and an English army under Lord Raglan landed at Gallipoli on the Dardanelles. The Russians, who were furthermore threatened on the west by the Austrians, evacuated the principalities and recrossed the Pruth. Austria at once occupied the abandoned provinces, promising to restore them to the Sultan on the conclusion of peace.

It was decided to attack Sebastopol, the great arsenal of Russia in the Crimea and the military centre from which she threatened the south. The city was at that time utterly unprepared to withstand a siege. On September 24 a fleet of 500 ships disembarked 30,000 French, 27,000 British, and 7000 Turks at Eupatoria, thirty miles to the north.

The operations against the beleaguered city went on under various forms for 351 days. The Russian generals, Mentshikoff, Todleben and Korniloff, strengthened the defences and resisted with Russian obstinacy. The battles of Alma, Balaclava and Inkerman were favorable on the whole to the allies. Meanwhile St. Arnaud died and was succeeded by Marshal Canrobert, who, exhausted, gave way to General Pélissier. Lord Raglan died and was replaced by General James Simpson. The soldiers, especially the British, suffered horribly in a winter of unusual vigor. In a single storm twenty-one transports were wrecked. Piedmont, glad to make its existence remembered, sent to the assistance of the allies a little army of 18,000 well-equipped men. Together with the French they won the battle of Tchernaya (August 16), the decisive action of the campaign. By September 8 everything was ready for the final assault. The two chief defences of the city were the Malakoff and the Great Redan. The French successfully stormed the former, but the British, despite their desperate courage, were unable to capture the latter. However, the Malakoff taken, further resistance was useless, and the Russian army withdrew.

In Asia the Russian arms had been successful and they had captured the stronghold of Kars, which commanded the eastern approaches to Asia Minor.

Sebastopol was in the hands of the conquerors. To make themselves masters of it, the allies had sacrificed the lives of more than 100,000 of their troops. Russia's losses were even greater. Nevertheless the utmost efforts of four Powers, assisted by the military interference of Austria, had only sufficed to reduce a fortress on the extreme southern verge of her empire. Her frontier had been touched but she had not been really invaded. The Tsar Nicholas I had died on March 2, 1855, and been succeeded by the milder and less persistent Alexander II.

The treaty was signed at Paris on March 30, 1856. It neutralized the Black Sea, guaranteed liberty of navigation in the Danube, from which it removed Russia by a slight rectification of her western frontier, and abolished the protectorate of Russia over the Danubian provinces and over her coreligionists in Turkey. Turkey was admitted to the international concert of states, and the Hatti Sherif of the Sultan, promising religious privileges to his non-Mussulman subjects, was incorporated in the treaty as a contract between him and Europe.

However gravely accepted and proclaimed, most of these conditions could be regarded only in the light of temporary accommodation. The really important achievement of the congress was its enunciation of the four following principles in international law: privateering is abolished; the neutral flag covers an enemy's goods, except contraband of war; neutral goods, except contraband of war, are exempt from capture even under an enemy's flag; a blockade to be respected must be effectual.

It was a splendid triumph for the French emperor and for France when the congress assembled at Paris to determine the conditions of peace. In the eyes of his people Napoleon III appeared to be the arbiter of the continent. The distant campaign had been attended with frightful loss in money and men, but it was forgotten in such glory as had not attended the French arms since the first Napoleon invaded Russia.

War with Austria (1859).—Piedmont, the only independent and constitutional Italian state, had won the gratitude of France and of Great Britain by her coöperation in the Crimean War. Her prime minister, Count Cavour, had taken part in the Congress of Paris and had dexterously improved the occasion to denounce the mis-

government of central and southern Italy and to arraign the Austrian occupation of Lombardy and Venice. Thereby he thrust the Italian question to the forefront of Europe. In 1858 he made a secret treaty with Napoleon, the object of which was the expulsion of Austria from the peninsula, and in January, 1859, cemented the relations of France and Piedmont by the marriage of Prince Napoleon, cousin of the emperor, to the Princess Clotilda, daughter of Victor Emmanuel.

While all Europe was considering a proposition from the British court for general disarmament, Austria committed a political blunder disastrous to herself. She addressed a note to the Piedmontese court, demanding the disarmament of their troops in the space of three days. Cavour gave a diplomatic reply, though gross provocation had come from Austria. Six days later she crossed the Ticino, this act being equivalent to a declaration of war against not only Piedmont but France. Napoleon wished to win for himself some of the military laurels his generals had gained in the Crimea, and took command in person. In his progress southward through France he was hailed with tremendous enthusiasm by the citizens, who rejoiced that their armies were again to fight the battles of Italian liberty.

The campaign was short but eventful. A main factor in determining the result was the proverbial slowness and incision of the Austrian generals. General Forey with inferior forces defeated the enemy at Montebello (May 20). Marshal MacMahon gained a battle at Magenta (June 2), where the Austrians lost 20,000 killed and wounded and 7000 prisoners. The victors entered Milan amid a delirium of joy. Abandoning Lombardy, the Austrians concentrated 160,000 troops for a decisive action at Solferino. The French and Piedmontese forces were almost as numerous. The two emperors were in command. After a ten hours' battle the Austrians were compelled to retreat, leaving 30,000 men upon the field (June 24). Napoleon slept that night in the chamber which his imperial antagonist had occupied in the morning.

Napoleon had declared that he would free Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic. But his position was one of extreme peril. The famous quadrilateral was still held by the enemy. Numerous reënforcements were pouring into the

Austrian camp. Prussia and the southwestern German states, dismayed at the progress of revolutionary ideas and unwilling to see France too victorious, showed a disposition to take part in the war. A proposition for an interview was made to Francis Joseph, and at Villafranca the two sovereigns signed the preliminaries of peace, afterwards confirmed by the treaty of Zurich. Lombardy was annexed to Piedmont. The sovereigns of Tuscany and Modena were to return to their states, but no foreign armies were to aid them in securing repossession. An Italian federation was to be formed under the presidency of the Pope. Piedmont skilfully kept herself free from entangling promises as to the future of Italy. Savoy and Nice, after a plebiscite of their inhabitants expressing the desire therefor, were annexed to France.

Material Progress (1852-1867). — These years are marked by brilliant prosperity. Under a strong and presumably stable government the people were no longer disturbed by fear of revolution and devoted themselves with ardor to every branch of activity. Whoever wished could obtain work at a fair remuneration, and capital found lucrative avenues everywhere open. Private and public enterprise covered France with a network of railroads. Highways were laid out and bridges constructed in all directions. Easier and cheaper means of communication were both a cause and result of wonderful development in manufactures and trade. Docks were constructed and harbors dug or enlarged. Great loan companies assisted labor and savings-banks sprang up to receive its earnings. Numerous chambers of commerce and agriculture were founded. Duties on grain were abolished. Sagacious commercial treaties with Great Britain, Italy, Belgium and other states favored the export of French products and introduced foreign products at cheaper rates. In thirteen years the exports and imports trebled in value.

Hospitals were multiplied. Convalescent homes, as at Vincennes, Vésinet, and Longchêne, orphanages, asylums and all conceivable institutions of beneficence and philanthropy were established. Here governmental and private generosity rivalled each other. Popular education developed as never before in France. The pupils increased by 1,000,000 in fifteen years. Special attention was paid to professional, industrial and technical schools. The law

of April 10, 1867, specifically provided for the education of girls. An immense number of school libraries were founded. Instruction seemed an antidote for crime. "According as the schools filled up the prisons emptied."

Paris, congested in narrow and crooked streets, was rebuilt on a magnificent scale by Baron Haussmann, prefect of the Seine. Even the Louvre, hitherto unfinished, was completed. Lyons and Marseilles were almost transformed. The same thing went on upon a proportional scale in the other cities and towns. Public gardens and parks were created for the diversion and health of the people. Sanitary measures diminished the death-rate. A sense of well-being and comfort pervaded the country.

The Universal Exposition of 1867. — This was the visible expression of all the material prosperity under the empire. It may be called also the culmination of its glory.

The Champ de Mars was converted into a city of exhibition, or a world bazaar. In the centre rose an enormous palace in iron and glass, enclosing an area of thirty-six acres, packed in bewildering fashion with whatever was most valuable and rare. This palace was over 1600 feet long and almost 1300 in width. It was surrounded by gardens adorned with works of art and edifices representing the architecture, manner of life and occupations of all nations. From all over the globe manufacturers, inventors, agriculturists, artists, merchants flocked to Paris to there exhibit and behold all the achievements of peace and to vie with one another in the display of their various products. It was a tournament of all mankind, where international juries awarded prizes for the best things which the human hand and brain had done. No equal international exhibition had ever been held. It surpassed every other in the number, variety and excellence of the articles displayed, and these articles represented every department of human science and activity. There were 51,819 exhibitors, and it was visited daily during six months by over 70,000 persons.

Inevitably, because held in France and other nations were more or less remote, the French exhibit was superior to the rest. The French might take a legitimate pride, not only in the fact that the marvellous exhibition was devised by them, but in the preëminent splendor of their share in the exhibit. Napoleon and France occupied

the proud position of hosts. The most enlightened foreigners by tens and hundreds of thousands thronged their capital as guests. The emperors of Russia and Austria, the queen of Great Britain, the kings of Italy, Prussia, Belgium, Sweden and Denmark, the sultan of the Ottoman Empire, and numerous other rulers of civilized or barbarous states by their presence added to the dignity and enhanced the magnificence of the occasion. Paris for half a year was decked as in a perpetual fête.

Humiliations of the Empire. — Two were of such a nature as to be peculiarly galling to a sensitive people. The first and most important was administered by the United States. In 1862 France, Great Britain and Spain sent a joint military expedition to Mexico to enforce the payment of certain claims. When their ostensible object was attained Great Britain and Spain withdrew. The United States were then engaged in a civil war, which Napoleon believed would end in the dissolution of the Union. Therefore he judged the occasion favorable to set up a Latin empire, which should counterpoise any Anglo-Saxon republics in the Western world. The Archduke Maximilian, brother of the emperor of Austria, consented to accept the crown to be wrung for him from Mexico, Napoleon promising to maintain an army of 25,000 French soldiers for the protection of the new emperor. The American government had refused to recognize any authority in Mexico except that of the dispossessed president, Juarez, but, its hands tied by the civil war, was unable to do more. After the confederacy was overthrown, it notified Napoleon that his soldiers must be withdrawn. The French emperor judged it expedient to comply, though in so doing he violated his promise to Maximilian and ignominiously left him to destruction. Meanwhile Carlotta, the devoted wife of Maximilian, journeyed from court to court in Europe, entreating assistance for her husband and denouncing the desertion of him by Napoleon. Successive disappointments overthrew her reason. The Mexican Empire was destroyed by Juarez, and Maximilian was finally captured and shot as a usurper (June 19, 1867). The news of the terrible disaster reached Europe while Paris was in the full tide of the Universal Exposition and cast a gloom upon the gayety and brilliancy of the occasion. The French Empire never recovered from the shock of this Mexican failure.

The second humiliation was the work of Count von Bismarck, president of the Prussian Cabinet. In the Prusso-Austrian war of 1866 it was of supreme importance to the Prussians to prevent the interference of France whose sympathies lay with Austria. So Bismarck gave Napoleon to understand that in case Prussia was victorious and increased her territory, France should receive an equivalent by the annexation of Luxemburg on her northeastern frontier. The war ended in the aggrandizement of Prussia. Thereupon Napoleon demanded the cession of Luxemburg, but Bismarck now informed him that the Germans were opposed to any such arrangement, and that hence it was impossible. Napoleon had thus been ridiculously outwitted in the face of all Europe. But France was utterly unprepared for war and could only submit to the blow dealt her own and her emperor's prestige.

The third humiliation of the empire was inflicted upon it by the people in the plebiscite of May 8, 1870. By various modifications, introduced voluntarily by the sovereign, the government had passed from the absolute autocracy of 1852 to the constitutional or parliamentary monarchy of 1870. Political exiles had been amnestied and made eligible to office. Gradually concessions, although not extorted, had been granted until the country enjoyed freedom of the press, of parliamentary criticism and debate, responsibility of the ministers to the Chamber, and a constitution revised in a liberal sense. By the latter, granted April 20, 1870, the legislative power was shared by the Senate and the Chamber, while all power to further change the constitution was intrusted to the people. Upon the advice of his minister, M. Rouher, the emperor asked a plebiscite concerning the reforms successively introduced and the revised constitution. An affirmative vote was furthermore understood to mean attachment to the reigning dynasty. Though there were only 1,500,000 nays to over 7,000,000 yeas, the negative vote was surprisingly large and also alarming in what it represented. While the rural districts were to all intents unanimous, an immense dissatisfaction with the state of things was revealed by the vote of Paris, the larger cities, and the army. Moreover, many of its adherents were indignant at the recent course of the government in despatching French troops to put down Garibaldi and in declaring its intention to maintain by arms the temporal

power of the Pope. The plebiscite, despite the immense majority of 5,500,000, was considered a rebuff.

The Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). — An increasing exasperation of the French against the Prussians and a growing animosity between the two states had existed ever since the Prusso-Austrian war. An ultimate conflict was inevitable. Events concurred to hasten the catastrophe.

The Spaniards, who had expelled their Bourbon dynasty, offered the Spanish crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a near kinsman of William I, king of Prussia. All France was on fire with excitement. Nor was the agitation allayed when it was heard that the prince had declined the offer. The foreign minister, the Duke de Gramont, the Empress Eugénie, the Chamber and the populace of Paris did their utmost to fan the flames. Napoleon and the calmer heads, like Thiers, were averse to war. But the emperor, exhausted by the ravages of an incurable malady, was no longer the cool, firm man who had executed the coup d'état or commanded at Solferino. The Duke de Gramont asserted, "We are ready, more than ready," and the prime minister, Ollivier, announced, "We accept the responsibility with a light heart!" War was declared by France on July 15, 1870. Never was a war a more rapid succession of disasters.

Prussia, under William I, Von Moltke, minister of war, and Von Bismarck had for years been steadily preparing for the struggle which she knew was to come. No nation was ever more terribly ready. Not a shoe-latchet was wanting to the troops. Treaties assured her the active support of all Germany. Even the plans of campaign were all matured. France had not an ally on whom to depend. Her regiments were incomplete, ill provisioned and ill armed. Yet, intoxicated with rage and overweening confidence in herself, she threw herself into the conflict as a gambler risks his all upon a throw.

The French armies were mobilized with distressing slowness. Twenty days after the declaration of war the hostile forces had invaded France. The crown prince of Prussia defeated General Douay at Weissenburg (August 4), and, two days later, with 100,000 men destroyed an army of 45,000 men under Marshal MacMahon at Wörth. Then, as all through the war, the French fought with desperate courage and determination. But heroism without plan and

with inferior arms was of no avail against equal heroism attended by superior numbers and skill. The battle of Wörth was decisive of the campaign. By the victory the Prusso-German forces projected into France like a mighty wedge, and afterwards the French main armies, pressed to the right and left, could never unite. Moreover, Austria and Italy, who might have assisted France, were disinclined to join their fortunes to a lost cause. Skilful manœuvres and the victories of Forbach and Gravelotte succeeded in hemming the commander-in-chief, Marshal Bazaine, with 173,000 men, inside the fortifications of Metz. There he was at once besieged by the crown prince of Saxony.

Sedan.—A forlorn hope remained for the deliverance of Bazaine. Marshal MacMahon, the ablest general of France, with 130,000 troops marched to his relief. But he was hampered by the presence of the emperor, who had left the Empress Eugénie as regent, and by the constant interference of the French minister of war, Count Palikao. While in the valley of Sedan his army was surrounded by 250,000 Germans, who, by forced marches and in perfect obedience to concerted plans, had closed in upon them. Retreat or advance was impossible. After three days of hopeless fight and terrible loss, the French surrendered, Napoleon himself offering his sword to King William. Together with the emperor 104,000 men had been taken prisoners.

Fall of the Empire (September 4, 1870).—The news of the surrender was received at Paris with frenzy. The mob took control, pronounced the deposition of the emperor and proclaimed the republic. On the pillars of the Palace Bourbon they chalked the names of those whom they wished to direct affairs and who, without further election, assumed authority as the Government of National Defence. General Trochu was made President, Jules Favre, minister of foreign affairs, Gambetta, minister of the interior, Jules Simon, minister of public instruction, and General Le Flô, minister of war. Their attempts to place the responsibility for the war upon Napoleon were coldly received by the Germans, who furthermore showed unwillingness to treat with an irresponsible government. M. Thiers was sent to London, St. Petersburg, Vienna and Florence to beg assistance, but everywhere in vain. Jules

Favre declared that France would not yield an inch of her soil, and the Germans had resolved to consider no propositions of peace that did not include the acquisition of Alsace and Lorraine.

Surrender of Metz (October 27). — Completely shut in, Marshal Bazaine received only such news of the condition of France as the enemy judged expedient. Cut off from all hope of rescue, his cavalry and artillery horses killed for food, his provisions exhausted, he surrendered. His army of 173,000 men was sent to Germany to share the captivity of the prisoners of Sedan. A capitulation on such an enormous scale was unexampled. No event in the war has been more bitterly criticised and its necessity more angrily disputed. After the cessation of hostilities Bazaine was tried by a court-martial and condemned to death.

In spite of obstinate resistance, Toul (September 23), Strasburg (September 28), Verdun (November 8), and all the fortified places of northwestern France, except Belfort, were one after the other forced to capitulate.

Siege and Surrender of Paris (January 28, 1871). — The siege of Paris began on September 19. Gambetta escaped in a balloon (passing over the German lines), and reaching Toul became a virtual dictator. Infusing his own wild energy into the people of central and southern France, he induced them to prolong a hopeless struggle. Yet each day's added resistance could only increase the general suffering and force harsher terms upon France in the end. Meanwhile the enemy, leaving sufficient forces for the siege of Paris, deluged the country on the west and south. The untrained levies under Generals Aurelle de Paladines and Bourbaki could only delay but not prevent their advance.

Paris held out for 142 days. The city, esteemed frivolous, showed such sternness and tenacity in defence as no other great capital has ever equalled. Each desperate sortie drew the iron bands tighter around her, and she yielded at last, not to the Germans but to famine. The German Empire had been proclaimed in the Palace of Versailles ten days before. Even then Gambetta was unwilling to give up, and resigned his office only when he had been disavowed by the government of Paris.

The Treaty of Frankfort. — In the hour of her extremest distress France turned to her one statesman, Thiers. He could not save her, but he might somewhat alleviate the

miseries of her fall. The National Assembly, elected by German consent, met at Bordeaux. The Government of National Defence laid down its powers. Thiers was appointed to form a ministry and negotiate terms of peace. With Count Bismarck he wrestled over each point in the Prussian demands. Hard though the terms imposed, they would have been still harder but for him. It was agreed that France should pay \$1,000,000,000 indemnity in the space of three years, and that all Alsace except Belfort, and one-fifth of Lorraine including Metz should be annexed to Germany. The evacuation of territory was to take place proportionally as the indemnity was paid.

This preliminary treaty was approved by the French Assembly on March 2 and formally ratified at Frankfort on May 10, 1871.

V

GERMANY

(1848-1871)

Rivalry of Prussia and Austria. — Of the thirty-eight sovereignties which composed the German Confederation, Austria and Prussia were by far the most important. Both were disliked by the other German states, but Austria, although the larger and stronger, was dreaded less than Prussia. During the preceding 150 years they had gradually approached each other by an inverse process, the one by intermittent development and expansion, the other by intermittent decline, until they stood almost upon a par. Liberty had nothing to hope from the government of either. Nor could it be expected that either would advance the cause of German union except by making other and weaker states dependent upon itself. Prussia, because of her more restricted territory and smaller population, caused less anxiety to Europe than did Austria, who, because an agglomeration of races, never could rally the Germans to the cry of nationality.

The problem what to do with Austria had disturbed the wordy National Assembly at Frankfort in 1848 and 1849. Some of the delegates proposed that she should remain a state apart, either abandoning her German provinces or retaining them, but in any case to be reckoned outside of Germany. Other delegates proposed that all the German states and all the Austrian provinces of whatever race should combine in one enormous empire, spanning Europe from the Baltic to the Adriatic, and that Austria should be its head. The first of these propositions may be called the Prussian, and the second proposition the Austrian plan. This crucial question received its solution only eighteen years afterwards, and meanwhile affected the whole current of German politics.

Question of Schleswig-Holstein (1848-1855). — Schleswig

and Holstein are two duchies lying between Denmark and Germany. The inhabitants of the former were mainly, and of the latter exclusively, German. Both enjoyed a separate political existence, with their own customs and laws, although their sovereign was the king of Denmark. Frederick VII at his accession incorporated Schleswig with his Danish states. But the German Diet as formally incorporated Schleswig with Germany and appointed Prussia by the sword to carry this action into effect. The Danes gained the advantage in battle. A protocol, signed at London in 1850 by Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Sweden and Denmark, and another treaty in 1852, introduced diplomatic arrangements which decided little, contented no one, but contained the germ of future trouble.

The king went on with his attempted Danification of the duchies. In 1855 he published a constitution wherein the same laws were applied indiscriminately to them and to all his other provinces. The duchies protested, Germany threatened to interfere, and Frederick granted certain concessions. The general irritation did not diminish. Relying on the promise of Great Britain to protect the integrity of Danish territory and swept along by the enthusiasm of the Danes, the king persisted in measures that were both impolitic and unjust. In 1863 by a manifesto he assimilated Schleswig to his other possessions and declared that Holstein should pay certain taxes, which had not been voted by her Estates. After fruitless negotiations the German Diet determined on armed intervention and occupied Holstein by Saxon and Hanoverian troops (December, 1863). The Danish forces withdrew without resistance into Schleswig. Thus far the contention had been one of race. The Danes had determined to blot out the German character of the duchies, which the inhabitants of those duchies were as determined to retain.

King William I and Otto von Bismarck. — On January 2, 1861, William I ascended the Prussian throne. His brother, Frederick William IV, suffering from insanity, he had acted as regent during the preceding two years. He was a man of strong character and decided opinions, fully persuaded of the divine right of kings. His despotic sentiments often brought him into collision with the people, and he was by no means popular. A soldier from his birth, he believed the welfare of Prussia was bound up in the army.

Though otherwise evincing no extraordinary talents, he showed remarkable sagacity in the choice of men for important positions. Then he honored them with his full confidence, and, absolute as he was, allowed them wide latitude in carrying out his ideas. In the autumn after his accession he appointed Otto von Bismarck Minister of Foreign Affairs and President of the Cabinet. No other choice could have been equally felicitous. If the renown of the minister afterwards overshadowed that of the master, it was largely gained by the fidelity as well as the wonderful ability of his services. From 1862 to 1870 the biography of Bismarck is the history of Prussia; from 1870 to 1890 his biography is the history of Germany. In an epoch-making age he stands without a peer among the statesmen of continental Europe.

A conflict was pending in 1862 between the king and the Prussian parliament over the bill reorganizing the army. The scheme proposed more than doubled the numbers of its troops while vastly increasing their efficiency. But the people saw in the project only an additional weapon of despotism. The lower Chamber loaded the bill with amendments and finally rejected it altogether. Bismarck had no respect for popular votes or parliamentary majorities. Already he had declared that the great questions of the time were to be settled "by blood and iron." He advised the king to prorogue the Chambers, silence the press, and reorganize the army as he pleased. His advice was followed.

The military system of Prussia, which was to defeat Austria, crush France and reunite Germany, was the result. But it was founded none the less on a royal usurpation of legislative rights.

Austro-Prussian Occupation of Schleswig-Holstein (1863-1864).—The troubles in the duchies afforded Bismarck an admirable opportunity. First he strenuously persuaded Austria to join Prussia and interfere, regardless of the Diet and of the wishes of the other German states. After sending an ultimatum to Copenhagen, which was rejected, the Prussian and Austrian forces invaded Denmark, not as the armed agents of Germany or in behalf of the duchies, but solely on their own account. The little nation was helpless against their attack. Neither did she receive the promised aid of Great Britain. By the treaty of

Vienna (October 30, 1864) Christian IX was obliged to cede all the disputed territory to Prussia and Austria jointly. The odium of the conquest fell equally on the two Powers, but the gains were to be reaped only by Prussia. By the convention of Gastein—one of the most brilliant diplomatic triumphs Bismarck ever won—to her was assigned Schleswig with the seaport of Kiel in Holstein. Austria was to retain Holstein, a distant acquisition, which could only be to her a source of weakness and a cause of future trouble.

Seven Weeks' War between Prussia and Austria (1866).—Prussia was at last ready for the final struggle against her adversary. Her army was fully disciplined and equipped. Great Britain, France and Russia endeavored to mediate and prevent the war, but to no purpose. Most of the German states sided with Austria. On June 15 Prussia declared war against Hanover, Hesse and Saxony. On the 20th Italy, whose offensive and defensive alliance had been gained by the promise of Venetia, declared war against Austria and Bavaria. Meanwhile Prussia had 500,000 men under arms. She struck with astounding rapidity, but Austria and her allies moved as in sleep or stupor. Within a week Hanover, Hesse and Saxony were subdued, their armies captured or destroyed and their kings in flight. Into Bohemia, whose passes were undefended, poured 280,000 men with 800 guns. Marshal Benedek had no more than 210,000 men and 762 guns of inferior calibre with which to oppose them. In two days' time he lost a sixth of his army and sent word to the Austrian emperor that his only hope was in peace. The reply was an order to give battle, and the order was obeyed.

Sadowa (July 3, 1866).—Benedek chose a strong position at Sadowa in an amphitheatre of wooded hills in front of Königgrätz, the Elbe being in his rear. With the precision of a machine his foes in three several armies under King William, Count von Moltke, the Minister of War, the Crown Prince, General von Roon, General Hiller, Prince Frederick Charles and other of the ablest commanders in Europe were marching upon him. Even Bismarck was there to rejoice in the ruin for which he had prepared the way and to conduct the negotiations after the already certain victory.

The Prussians began their attack at three o'clock in the

morning. The Crown Prince of Prussia with his army was to reach his position on the extreme Austrian right ten hours later. The Austrians held their ground with unflinching courage, but mere gallantry is a minor element in modern warfare. Even the fog fought for the Prussians and masked the movements of the Crown Prince until his army assailed and destroyed the Austrian right. Driven from their lines by the always mounting tide of the attack, the soldiers of Benedek at last gave way and in one enormous broken mass rushed toward the river. That day's fighting cost Austria 4190 killed, 11,900 wounded, 20,000 prisoners and 160 cannon. Above all, it hurled her out of Germany and crowned Prussia, her hereditary foe, with the leadership over the Germans.

It is common to ascribe the victory at Sadowa to the Prussian needle-gun, which, though carrying a shorter distance, could be fired five times as fast as the Austrian cannon and with far deadlier effect. The superiority of this weapon however was but one among the many factors that ensured Prussian success.

The road to Vienna was open. There was no army to oppose the advance of the invaders. After ineffectual attempts at negotiation, Austria implored the mediation of Napoleon to secure peace, thereby abandoning her as yet unconquered and unattacked allies, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse and other south German states. They were subdued with celerity.

Meanwhile, Austrian dynastic pride was soothed by the victory of the Archduke Albert over the Italians at Custoza (June 24), an ill-omened field for Italy, and by the destruction of the Italian navy at Lissa (July 20) by Admiral Tegetthoff.

Hegemony of Prussia (1866-1871). — The conditions of peace were, as always, hard for the vanquished. Austria recognized her exclusion from Germany, abandoned her claims to Schleswig and Holstein, ceded Venetia to Italy, agreed to pay an indemnity of 20,000,000 thalers, and left Prussia free to organize Germany as she pleased.

Prussia added to her territory Hanover, despite the protests of Great Britain, the electorate of Hesse, Nassau, the free city of Frankfort, Schleswig-Holstein and certain smaller territories to facilitate her internal communications. Upon the states of southern Germany, Bavaria,

Württemberg and Baden, she imposed treaties of offensive and defensive alliance, and was also guaranteed the command of their armies in case of war. These treaties however were to be kept profoundly secret.

The most manifest and imposing monument of Sadowa was the North German Confederation, of which the king of Prussia was president. It comprised Prussia and in general all the states north of the river Main. Though a federal parliament, the Reichstag, was created, each state retained its own chambers and local laws. A federal council, wherein out of forty-three votes Prussia had seventeen, regulated federal relations. Even the reluctant southern kingdoms were shrewdly interested in the new order, being requested to send delegates who, together with the members of the Reichstag, should decide the customs-dues and the tariff regulations of all Germany. The North German Confederation was the sure prophecy of the speedy German unification under a German Empire.

The colors of Prussia were black and white. The new national standard in its union of black, white and red proclaimed her hegemony.

Unification of Germany (1871). — It is a truism, but none the less true, that it was the Prussian schoolmaster who gained the battle of Sadowa. Success intensified rather than relaxed the efforts and ambitions of the mighty men who controlled the destinies of Prussia. Every energy was devoted to preparation for the next war, which, whoever the aggressor, all Europe foresaw would be with France. The Prussian generals, diplomats and statesmen formed a galaxy, rare in any age, and above them towered the king, Von Bismarck and Von Moltke. "Let us work fast, gentlemen," said Bismarck. "Let us put Germany in the saddle. She will know how to ride." In 1868 Von Moltke laid before the king his plan of campaign in case of the invasion of France.

In a mad hour like an angry child France drew the sword. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, with the dethronement of the Napoleonic dynasty, the captivity of 400,000 French soldiers, and the humiliations of Sedan and Metz, was the result. To Prussia and to Germany it wrought realization of the enthusiastic dreams of Arndt and of the calmer projects of Frederick the Great, Von Stein and Bismarck in the accomplishment of national unity. The blood,

which all the German states shed together on the fields of France, cemented the bonds of race as nothing else could have done. The factious opposition of feudal traditions and local jealousies could not longer continue. The Reichstag in an address to the king of Prussia, presented on December 18, 1870, employed these words: "The North German parliament, in unison with the princes of Germany, approaches with the prayer that your Majesty will deign to consecrate the work of unification by accepting the imperial crown of Germany. The Teutonic crown on the head of your Majesty will inaugurate for the reëstablished empire of the German nation an era of honor, of peace, of well-being and of liberty secured under the protection of the laws."

The Palace of Versailles is the architectural masterpiece and favorite residence of Louis XIV, the arch-enemy of the Germans. More than half a century ago it was converted into an enormous historical picture-gallery and its walls were covered with countless splendid paintings representing all the French conquests and triumphs during hundreds of years. In the gorgeous throne-room of this palace, hung all around with the royal glories of its founder, the German Empire was proclaimed on January 18, 1871, and the king of Prussia accepted for himself and his descendants the imperial crown. No coronation at Frankfort or Berlin could have been so eloquent and so impressive. The shouts of the victorious assemblage, hailing a resurrected and united Germany, announced a new era, and woke echoes in the neighboring room where Louis XIV had died.

VI

THE THIRD FRENCH REPUBLIC

(1871-1898)

The Commune (March 18–May 28, 1871). — A majority of the members of the National Assembly, though not venturing to overthrow the republic, inclined to a monarchical form of government. Therefore they were regarded with suspicion and even hated by a large section of the Parisian populace. The sufferings of the siege, indignation at the triumphal entry of the Germans and the exasperation of failure had wrought the lower classes to frenzy. It was easy for the so-called Central Committee, representing every radical and anarchistic notion and strong in the support of the dregs of the people, to rouse the mob, unfurl the red flag, seize the city and all the fortifications except Mount Valerian and proclaim the Commune. Some of the still armed national guard rallied to their side. Eager for blood, they assassinated General Lecomte and General Thomas, who had fought well for France. M. Thiers, the government officials, and the members of the Assembly had time to withdraw to Versailles.

Marshal MacMahon, now healed from his wounds, and many French prisoners of war had already returned. The marshal had the melancholy duty of placing himself at their head to put down an insurrection of their fellow-countrymen. It was necessary to undertake a regular siege and bombard the capital. Inside the city any semblance of order soon gave way to anarchy, but the insurgents fought with ferocity. They butchered Monseigneur Darboy, — the third archbishop of Paris who has fallen victim during this century to a Parisian mob, — the curate of the Madeleine, and the President of the Court of Appeals. In the quarter of Belleville they slaughtered sixty-two soldiers and priests whom they held as hostages. After the government troops had forced their way through the gates, a murderous hand-

to-hand fight in the streets continued for seven days before resistance was quelled. Maddened by rage at defeat the communists sought to destroy all Paris and bury themselves in its ashes. The women were more demoniac than the men. They succeeded in burning the Hôtel de Ville, the Palace of the Legion of Honor, the Palace of the Tuileries, the Library of the Louvre, and many other public and private buildings. The column of the Place Vendôme they threw to the ground. The horrified troops showed scant mercy to their miserable captives. For a year there were court-martials and executions. Thirteen thousand persons were transported or condemned to prison for the crimes of the Commune. In the wars of 1500 years Paris had never suffered as at the hands of her own children in this insurrection.

M. Thiers, President of the Republic (1871-1873).— Thus, at the beginning of his presidency had devolved upon Thiers two cruel tasks. The one was to make peace with a foreign invader gorged with victory. The other was to extinguish civil war.

The sight of an army of occupation wounded the nation to the quick. With tireless energy and wonderful skill Thiers devoted himself to discharging the war indemnity of \$1,000,000,000. By September, 1873, it had all been paid, not in paper but in hard coin, and the last German soldier had recrossed the frontier. The president well deserved the title of "Liberator of the Territory," which was decreed him in public opinion.

How long the deputies of the Assembly should hold their seats had never been determined, and they governed without a constitution. Thiers was a liberal monarchist, but a patriot above all. He believed that under the circumstances only a republican form of government was possible for France. Thereby he incurred the hostility of the majority which was made up of legitimists, Orleanists and imperialists. These groups were at variance with one another and agreed only in antagonism to the republic. Some were moved by loyalty to a dynasty; others by the dreaded spectre of radicalism and the red flag. On May 23, 1873, by a test vote of 360 to 344 the Assembly expressed its desire that the president should change his policy. The old man, whose life of seventy-six years had been consecrated to his country, preferred to resign.

Presidency of Marshal MacMahon (1873-1879). — On the same day the Assembly elected Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta, as his successor. This soldier of the empire was supposed to be Orleanist at heart. He was a man of upright character, universally esteemed, but cast in the mould of a general rather than of a statesman. The Orleanist Duke de Broglie was made minister of foreign affairs. In the new ministry all the three monarchist groups were represented. The republicans were likewise split into three sections: the Left Centre or conservative republicans; the Left or more advanced republicans; the Extreme Left or radicals. The last faction were under the control of Gambetta, a natural orator and skilled politician who, despite his restless temperament, knew how to temporize and wait.

The Republic existed *de facto*, but had never been officially decreed. The Orleanists fused with the legitimists and consented to proclaim the childless Henry, Count of Chambord, as king, the succession to devolve on the Count of Paris, the head of the house of Orleans. The vote of the Assembly seemed secured for the grandson of Charles X, when the monarchist schemes were wrecked on the question of the color of a flag. The Count of Chambord refused to recognize the tricolor, associated with the Revolution and the empire, and made his acceptance of the throne conditional upon the restoration of the white flag. Henry IV had declared that Paris is worth a mass. His descendant, Henry of Chambord, chose to reject a throne rather than abandon the symbol of his house. Negotiations could go no farther, for the tricolor was interwoven with all the later life of France. The disappointed monarchists together with the republican Left Centre voted that the presidency of Marshal MacMahon should continue for seven years (November 20, 1873). Alarmed by the progress of imperialism, the Assembly, on January 30, 1875, by a majority of one recognized the Republic as the definite government of France.

Meanwhile the deputies toiled laboriously at the formation of a provisional constitution, which was finally voted on February 25, 1875. This constitution was added to or modified several times in the course of the year. It provided for a Chamber of 733 deputies elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years, and for a Senate of 300

members, 225 to be elected by the departments and colonies for a term of nine years — seventy-five going out of office every three years — and seventy-five by the national assembly for life. The president of the Republic was to be chosen, not by a plebiscite, but by the Senate and Chamber of Deputies meeting in joint session. He was to hold office for seven years and could be reëlected. His power was to resemble that of a constitutional sovereign and his ministers were responsible to the Chambers. The attributes of the two houses were poorly defined, and were sure to be the cause of future contention. Distrust of or indifference to the will of the people was a marked feature in the elaboration of the constitution. Thus Versailles, and not Paris, was declared the seat of government and legislation. Moreover, each faction sought to so adjust the provisions as to perpetuate itself. The Senate was carefully designed as a bulwark of conservatism or an obstructive force.

The Assembly dissolved in December, 1875. The elections gave a strong majority in the Chamber to the republicans. M. Dufaure became President of the Council, or prime minister, with M. Leon Say as minister of finance. He was succeeded a few months later by M. Jules Simon, an orator and versatile writer as well as accomplished statesman. He endeavored to serve the nation rather than a party, and to maintain a middle course between the conservatives and the radicals, who daily became more hostile to each other. Religious questions intensified the dispute. The prime minister satisfied none and alienated all.

The republican sentiment was daily becoming stronger in the country, but Marshal MacMahon was too much bound by traditions and of too inflexible a nature to understand or conform to the march of public opinion. On May 16, 1877, he brought about the resignation of M. Simon, and appointed a monarchist ministry whose principal members were the Orleanist Duke de Broglie and the imperialist M. de Fourtou. The Senate was compliant and approving, but the refractory Chamber of Deputies was prorogued for a month. When it reassembled, by an immense majority it passed a vote of lack of confidence in the ministry. The Senate authorized the dissolution of the Chamber, which was at once dissolved. A coup d'état was dreaded, whereby some sort of monarchy should be imposed, but the monarchists could not agree upon whose brow to place the crown.

Then followed all over the country the most genuine electoral campaign in which France had ever engaged. The government applied all the pressure in its power to determine the result. The marshal traversed the country, his partisans believing many votes would be influenced by his military renown and by the memory of his great services under the empire. Gambetta organized the opposition and everywhere delivered impassioned and convincing speeches. For a time he allowed his radicalism to slumber that he might rally under one banner all the anti-monarchists of whatever camp. A practical theorist, he had declared that a principle must not be pushed too far and that one must make the best of opportunity rather than risk everything and so perhaps lose all. For this he was later called an opportunist, and the name was applied to those who followed his lead.

In the heat of the electoral battle Thiers died at St. Germain. He, more than any other man, had been the acknowledged chief of the liberal party. National gratitude conspired with party loyalty to make his funeral the occasion of an imposing and overwhelming demonstration.

The republican victory was magnificent. In the new Chamber the opponents of the marshal had a majority of 110, which was further increased by invalidating the elections of fifty-two government candidates. They refused to vote the budget unless the president chose his cabinet from the parliamentary majority. He yielded, and called to the ministry MM. Dufaure, Waddington, Marcère, de Freycinet and Leon Say.

The following year there was a truce in political strife. France and Paris united to further the International Exposition of 1878, endeavoring to eclipse its brilliant predecessor of 1867. The seats of seventy-five senators became vacant in 1879. The success of the republicans was so complete as to assure them henceforth a majority in that hitherto conservative body. Marshal MacMahon judged his position untenable and resigned the chief magistracy (January 30, 1879).

His presidency was the long crisis in the history of the France of to-day. The longer the crisis continued, the more definite and stable the result. Since then president, Chamber and Senate have been in political accord as to the

system of government. That 16th of May, 1877, when M. Simon was dismissed and the Duke de Broglie appointed prime minister, was the Sadowa of monarchical restoration in France.

Presidency of M. Grévy (1879-1887). — M. Grévy was at once elected president of the Republic. Gambetta succeeded him as president of the Chamber of Deputies. Frequent changes in the ministry followed one another, the conservatives growing weaker and the radical tendency becoming continually more marked. The death of the Prince Imperial in South Africa (June 8, 1880), where he had joined a British expedition against the Zulus, blasted the rising hopes of the imperialists, who could not agree as to who should be regarded as heir of his claims.

The seat of government was removed from Versailles to Paris. The schools and convents of the Jesuits were suppressed. A special authorization was required for the existence of the other religious orders. Public education was extended while removed from the hands of the clergy. All persons still under condemnation for participation in the commune were amnestied. The 14th of July, the anniversary of the capture of the Bastille, was declared a national holiday. M. Jules Ferry replaced as prime minister M. de Freycinet, who was not considered sufficiently energetic in enforcing the decrees against the religious orders. An expedition to Tunis forced the bey to sign a treaty, placing his country under the protectorate of France. Gambetta at last became prime minister (November 14, 1881). Much was expected of him, but his old-time energy and fire seemed to have disappeared. Nor did he receive the support of the Chamber in the measures he proposed. After holding office for a little more than two months he resigned, and died soon after, never having attained the presidency, the goal of his ambition.

In Egypt complications arose. The khedive had confided the supervision of the finances to two controllers, appointed by Great Britain and France respectively, so as to protect the French and British holders of Egyptian bonds. Judging the interests of their subjects endangered, the two Powers determined to interfere (1882). After much indecision France refused to coöperate in the military intervention, which was carried out by Great Britain, and the dual control abolished.

In Madagascar the Hovas encroached on the privileges of certain French residents. The French admiral who commanded the squadron in the Indian Ocean demanded that the northwestern part of the island should be placed under a French protectorate and a large indemnity be paid (1883). The queen of the Hovas refused. Her capital, Tamatave, was bombarded, but the French afterwards were signally defeated. Finally by treaty it was arranged that administration of internal affairs should be left to the queen, but that France should control the foreign relations of the island.

Then followed (1884) an inglorious war with China, in consequence of French incursions into territory over which the Chinese asserted suzerainty. After terrible loss and expense the French were confirmed in the possession of Annam and Tonquin. The by no means fruitful expeditions to Madagascar and China caused the fall of M. Jules Ferry (1885), who had been prime minister for twenty-five months. In 1885 the constitution was revised and some of its conservative features expunged. The Senate was deprived of any right to interfere in the budget, and it was determined that henceforth no senator should be elected for life. A law was also passed enforcing *scrutin de liste*, or the election of deputies upon a general departmental ticket. By the previous system of *scrutin d'arrondissement* each deputy had been elected singly by the vote of the district which he represented.

In the elections of 1885 the radicals and socialists, as well as the monarchists, made large gains at the expense of the moderate republicans. Thereupon the government took stringent measures against the princes of houses formerly ruling in France. It was intrusted with discretionary power to remove them all from the country, and was furthermore ordered to expel all claimants of the throne and their heirs. Therefore a presidential decree banished Prince Napoleon and his son, Prince Victor, and the Count of Paris with his son, the Duke of Orleans. The names of all the members of the Bonaparte and Orleans families were stricken from the army roll.

On the expiration of his term M. Grévy had been re-elected president. His son-in-law, M. Wilson, became implicated in scandals arising over the sale of decorations and of appointments in the army. M. Grévy unwisely

interfered to protect his son-in-law from justice. Though not accused of complicity in the crime, he was forced by the indignant Chambers to resign (December 2, 1887). He was then eighty years of age.

Presidency of M. Sadi Carnot (1887-1894). — The choice of the Chambers fell upon a worthy and illustrious candidate, M. Sadi Carnot. He was a grandson of that Carnot who, in 1793 during the Revolution, had proved himself unequalled as a military organizer and was called by his countrymen "the genius of victory."

The most prominent figure at that time in France was General Boulanger. His theatrical bearing and his supposed, but unproven, abilities made him a popular idol. For insubordination in the army he had been placed upon the retired list. A duel, in which he was worsted by a civilian, M. Floquet, the prime minister, did not damage his prestige. Elected deputy by enormous majorities, first in the department of Dordogne, and then in the department of Nord, he resigned his seat, but was then triumphantly elected on one and the same day in the departments of Nord, Charente-Inférieure, and the Somme. His political platform of revision of the constitution and dissolution of the Chamber enabled him to draw into his following all the disaffected and discontented of whatever party or class. The government was alarmed at his intrigues and prosecuted him before the High Court of Justice. Struck with sudden panic he did not present himself for trial, but fled to Great Britain. The trial proceeded in his absence. It was proved that he had received 3,000,000 francs from the Orleanist Duchess d'Uzès to further his political machinations. His popularity at once vanished. Finally (September 30, 1891), he committed suicide on the grave of Madame de Bonnemain, who had followed him in his exile and supported him by her bounty for two years.

Despite the fiasco of General Boulanger an urgent demand continued for a revision of the constitution. The revision bill introduced by M. Floquet was received coldly in the Chamber, whereupon he resigned, and M. Tirard, an economist, formed a new ministry. Scrutin d'arrondissement had previously been restored, the government considering the scrutin de liste more favorable to the scheme of political adventurers. Also a law was passed forbidding a citizen to present himself as a candidate for more than one

seat in the Chamber. After long debate a new army bill was adopted, making three years' service requisite instead of five, and compelling students and priests to serve one year.

The ministry of M. Tirard and of his successor, M. de Freycinet, devoted special attention to industrial questions. The system of free trade which had prevailed in France since 1860 was succeeded by high duties on nearly all imports. A special tariff with far lower rates was drawn up to secure reciprocity treaties with foreign countries. Great discontent prevailed among the working classes. The annual May-day labor demonstrations had become a menace to law and order. Frequent strikes produced armed conflicts between the soldiers and the mob. To appease the agitation the government founded a Labor Bureau and introduced bills for the protection of women and children in the factories.

So far the Catholic Church and the Republic had been generally regarded as hostile to each other. This feeling was an injury to both. In 1890 an illustrious prelate, Cardinal Lavigerie, archbishop of Algiers, published a letter, declaring it the true policy of the Catholic Church to support the Republic. At once the cardinal was bitterly denounced by the reactionary section of his coreligionists, but his policy was warmly commended by Pope Leo XIII. In consequence there have been far more amicable relations between the church and state, and the prevailing system has received the adhesion of many who had formerly opposed it.

In 1892 France was convulsed by the Panama scandal. Twelve years before M. de Lesseps, to whom the Suez Canal was due, organized the Panama Canal Company to construct a ship canal across the Isthmus of Panama. His immense reputation was supposed to guarantee success. Shares were eagerly subscribed for, especially by the laboring classes, and the government also advanced large loans. In 1889, after \$280,000,000 had been expended and small progress made, the company dissolved. Thousands of subscribers were ruined. The government prosecuted the directors for misappropriation of funds and for bribery of public officials. M. Baihaut, minister of public works in 1886, was proved to have received 375,000 francs, though he demanded 1,000,000. Other deputies and state officers were convicted

and sentenced. M. de Lesseps himself, though on his death-bed, was condemned to five years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of 5000 francs. During the investigation one cabinet toppled after another. In April, 1893, as the storm abated, M. Dupuy formed a ministry. While the French were punishing civilized criminals at home, they were carrying on a tedious war in Africa against the barbarous king of Dahomey. Finally, his capital, Ahomey, was taken, and in 1894 his territories made a French protectorate.

The elections of 1893 revealed the marked progress of socialism, and a corresponding decrease of conservatism among the voters. When M. Dupuy proposed an anti-socialistic programme to the newly elected Chamber, he could not obtain a vote of confidence. M. Casimir-Périer was invited to form a cabinet. Anarchism seemed to terrorize Paris and France. Many magistrates were attacked. In the Chamber of Deputies an anarchist, not a member, hurled a bomb at the president. Though laws were enacted against the propagation of anarchistic doctrines, "there was an epidemic of bombs in Paris in the spring of 1894."

On June 24, 1894, President Carnot paid a formal visit to Lyons. As he rode through the streets an Italian rushed before him and stabbed him, shouting, "Long live anarchy!" The illustrious victim died that same night.

He was universally mourned. His dignified and courtly manners, no less than his spotless character, had commanded the admiration of his countrymen. The perfection of address, with which he had met the Assembly at Versailles on May 5, 1889, the hundredth anniversary of the convocation of the States General, and had inaugurated the International Exposition at Paris the following day, indicated the ideal of a French chief magistrate. But it was as a statesman-president, lifted above the burning but puerile contentions of party politics, that he enhanced the reputation of the French Republic and won the respect of the world.

Presidency of M. Casimir-Périer (1894).—M. Casimir-Périer, the candidate of the moderate republicans, was elected by the Senate and Chamber three days after the assassination of M. Carnot. But he was passionately hated by the socialists and radicals, who employed every weapon to break down his authority. Corruption in connection with certain railway franchises was proved against

some of his friends, and this compelled the Cabinet to retire. Finding it difficult to form a new ministry and disheartened by sudden unpopularity, M. Casimir-Périer resigned the presidency.

Presidency of M. Faure (1895-).—The three candidates were M. Brisson, President of the Chamber, M. Waldeck-Rousseau and M. Felix Faure. The latter was elected (January 17). His occupancy of the chair has been marked by shrewdness and tact. During a tour through southeastern France in 1897 his democratic ways and close attention to whatever had to do with the army increased his popularity. An intimate alliance with Russia has of late years been greatly desired by the French, who regarded themselves as otherwise politically isolated in Europe. They were much gratified, when at the opening of the Baltic Canal in 1895, the Russian and French fleets in company entered the harbor of Kiel and when General Dragomanoff and the Russian ambassador attended the manœuvres of five army corps, numbering more than 120,000 men, in eastern France. Enthusiasm reached its limit on October 5, 1896, when the Tsar and Tsarina reviewed the French fleet off Cherbourg. Afterwards their majesties visited Paris, and the capital abandoned itself to festivities for three days. In August, 1897, President Faure returned the visit of his imperial guests, and was magnificently entertained. Afterwards he received such an ovation in France as is rarely extended a conqueror.

His first prime minister, M. Ribot, was replaced (October 30, 1895) by M. Bourgeois, and France had for the first time a cabinet composed wholly of radicals. Then the newspaper, *La France*, raked over again the embers of the Panama scandal, publishing the names of 104 members of the Chamber belonging to different parties, who, it asserted, had received bribes from the Panama Canal Company. There was a furious stir and further investigation was ordered, but little came of it. Another scandal, as to the concession of phosphate lands in Algeria, also made much noise. The socialists in the two Houses and all over the country redoubled their activity. They determined, on the anniversary of the death of the communist Blanqui, to make a demonstration at his grave in the cemetery of Père la Chaise, but it was broken up by the police and their red flags confiscated. For months the Senate and House were

at variance over questions of taxation, over the appropriation for the International Exposition of 1900 and the policy of the government in Madagascar. M. Bourgeois gave way to M. Méline as prime minister, who formed the thirty-fourth cabinet which had administered affairs since the resignation of M. Thiers in 1873.

During the last two years much progress has been made in reconciling moderate republicanism and the Catholic Church. On the other hand, the antagonism to the Jews has permeated almost all classes. The socialists started the movement, denouncing them as holders of property; but the aversion now shown them in France is based upon religion and race. The Dreyfus case furnishes a deplorable example. Captain Dreyfus, one of the few Jewish officers in the army, was arrested in 1894 on a charge of selling military plans to foreigners. He was tried by secret court-martial. Incriminatory documents were shown the judges, which neither he nor his counsel was permitted to see. He was declared guilty and sentenced to transportation for life. It is commonly believed that he was denied a fair trial because a Jew, and that on a fair trial his innocence would be made clear. When the famous novelist Zola made an effort to have the facts brought out, every obstacle was put in the way by the populace and courts. M. Zola was twice brought to trial on charge of libelling the government. Though he was twice condemned, the agitation increased rather than diminished.

The question took on an international phase. The German government had been accused of complicity in the supposed revelations of Captain Dreyfus. It branded these accusations as falsehoods and demanded that they be officially withdrawn. Careful investigation (August, 1898) proved the truth of the German statement and made evident that at least a portion of the papers employed to convict Captain Dreyfus were forgeries. The chief of the French intelligence bureau confessed a share in these forgeries and committed suicide. The chief of the staff, General Boisdeffre, and some of the highest officials resigned. The government now faces a terrible dilemma. If it revises the trial of Captain Dreyfus and his innocence is demonstrated, popular confidence in the management of the army will be shaken and perhaps destroyed. If it does not

revise that trial, it rests under the imputation of denying opportunity for justice to a cruelly accused man.

France in 1898. — The Third French Republic is now completing its twenty-eighth year. It has thus already lasted longer than any other form of government — empire, absolute or limited monarchy — which has arisen in France since 1789. Though differing in many respects, both as to theory and practice, from American ideas of republicanism, it nevertheless appears to be the system most appropriate to the genius of French character and most acceptable to the French people. The French have not long centuries of self-government behind them, and for generations a French republic must be a trial of experiments. This Republic has reorganized an effete and shattered military system and has rendered the French army to-day one of the most powerful militant forces in Europe. It has reorganized a defective system of instruction and developed and popularized both lower and higher education. Though attended more than once with corruption and scandal in high places, it has surpassed both the empire and the monarchy in official purity and honesty, and under it the public conscience has become more enlightened and hence more sensitive.

At the same time in few preceding periods of twenty-eight years has French influence counted so little among the nations. The Franco-Prussian War left France politically effaced. Her ablest foreign ministers, like M. Hanotaux, when dealing with the Armenian, Cretan and Greek questions, have been able to do nothing more than follow in the wake of the great Powers.

Since 1824 every French ruler — Charles X, Louis Philippe, Napoleon III, Thiers, MacMahon, Grévy, Carnot, Casimir-Périer — has been driven from his place by revolution or assassination or the overwhelming force of hostile public opinion. It may be so eventually with M. Faure. But, while his three and a half years of presidency offer little as yet of permanent interest or importance, he certainly has consolidated the Republic and brought Frenchmen nearer each other.

VII

THE GERMAN EMPIRE

(1871-1898)

The Imperial Constitution. — The Constitution was promulgated on April 16, 1871, in the name of the king of Prussia, as head of the North German Confederation, of the kings of Bavaria and Würtemberg and the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse. It was thus granted by five accordant princes and not wrought out in a constitutional assembly. It formed the code of twenty-six distinct states now all united under the iron rule of the Hohenzollerns and submitted to the same rigid discipline in war and diplomacy. Surfeited with such military glory as has been seldom achieved, the Germans, content for a time to forget their old aspirations after liberty, hailed the new system with transport. Hitherto one had been a Prussian, Bavarian, Hessian subject. Now the local name was obscured by the larger title of German subject. A man's civil rights were no longer local, but equal and similar all over the empire. The former German Empire was centrifugal, each emperor being chosen by election and each state retaining its feudal laws. The modern German Empire is centripetal, heredity in the Prussian house transmitting the succession with the precision of a well-oiled machine, and the imperial Constitution paramount to all customs and enactments of the various states. The former Empire of Germany was a vague political expression. The modern German Empire is a definite political fact.

The legislative authority was exercised by a Bundesrath or Federal Council, composed of representatives of the vassal princes of the empire, and by a Reichstag, or Imperial Diet, composed of deputies elected by the people. There was one deputy for each 100,000 inhabitants, and he held his seat three years. In the Federal Council Prussia had only seventeen votes out of fifty-eight. The consent of

the Bundesrath was necessary to declare war, except in case of the territory being suddenly invaded. Whenever one-third of its members desired, it was to be convoked in special session. All foreign policy was to be directed by the imperial chancellor. Berlin was in general the centre of imperial government and legislation, but the seat of the Imperial Tribunal was at Leipzig, and the accountant-general's office at Potsdam. The army on a peace footing numbered more than 400,000 men. Its military organization, in awful efficiency hitherto unapproached in human history, enabled it in case of war to put into the field 1,456,677 men, perfectly disciplined and equipped.

The Alliance of the Three Emperors (1871-1876).—All Europe might well be alarmed for its own safety after the victories and consolidation of Germany. There was no continental power, except Russia, which was not certain to go down before the new state in case of war. Not only smaller neighboring states but France herself trembled before the armed colossus which had arisen among them. Austria had nothing to hope except by peace. She manifested a strong desire to be on amicable terms with the new Power which had thrust her out of Germany. The Tsar Alexander II, a man of peace, was the friend and admirer of the Emperor William. The three emperors, Alexander II, William I and Francis Joseph drew together in a friendly understanding, which is called the Alliance of the Three Emperors. It was only when Russia drew her sword in 1877 to rescue her coreligionists, the Bulgarians, from further outrages at the hands of the Ottomans, that this friendly understanding was disturbed. It is to be said however that imperial Germany, while prepared for any eventuality, has attacked none and has pursued a policy of peace with all.

Organization of Alsace-Lorraine (1871). — The inhabitants of the annexed territory, though German in origin, were intensely French in sentiment. With indescribable sorrow they saw themselves transferred to Germany. Many emigrated rather than submit to foreign domination, and a large number abandoned their homes and removed to France. Alsace and Lorraine were at first governed as an imperial province under military dictatorship and dependent upon the imperial chancellor. Allowed representation in the Reichstag in 1874, their fifteen deputies unitedly and

boldly protested against their annexation by force and then solemnly withdrew. Bismarck believed that by shrewdly permitting them a degree of home rule their opposition might be gradually undermined. They were granted a Provincial Committee to sit at Strasburg and discuss all bills, which were afterwards submitted to the Reichstag, concerning their domestic and fiscal affairs. Gradually the functions of this committee were enlarged. In 1879 the government of the province was removed from the direction of the chancellor and intrusted to a statthalter or imperial envoy to reside at Strasburg. Marshal Mantouff, a distinguished soldier and statesman, was appointed to the position. By mild and conciliatory measures he did his utmost to reconcile the people, but in vain. Their aversion was only the more openly expressed. Then followed a policy of violent repression. The chancellor, Caprivi, declared in 1890 that the attempt to foster German feeling having failed, nothing was left but to dig deeper the ditch which separated Alsace-Lorraine from France. Though powerless to resist, the Alsace-Lorrainers have become no less sullen and determined in their anti-German sentiments.

The Culturkampf (1873-1887). — Bismarck, now a prince and chancellor of the empire, had met nothing but success. In the Culturkampf, or civilization fight, he undertook a task beyond his powers, in which he was to encounter his great political defeat. He had unified Germany by merging it under one central power. The Catholic Church in Prussia, as well as all other churches, must pass through the same process of centralization and be merged in and made subordinate to the state. In 1873 the Prussian minister of public worship, Dr. Falk, introduced and succeeded in passing the so-called Falk or May Laws. Ostensibly these laws aimed at securing liberty to the laity, a national and German rather than an ultramontane training to the clergy and protection for the inferior clergy against their superiors. They provided that all theological seminaries should be controlled by the state, that the state should examine all candidates for the priesthood and should furthermore have the right to approve or reject all ecclesiastical appointments. Pope Pius IX remonstrated in an urgent letter to the emperor. The Catholic bishops collectively declared they could not obey these laws. But they

were none the less vigorously enforced by fine, imprisonments and exile. It was religious persecution on an enormous scale in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Within eight years' time the parishes of more than one-fifth of the 8500 Catholic priests in Prussia were vacant, and no successors could be appointed. The perfect union of the Catholic clergy and laity with no weapon but passive resistance won the victory in the end. The May Laws were suspended in 1881 and later on practically repealed. After 1887 all state interference in the administration of the church and in the education of the priesthood was wholly abandoned.

Economic Policy (1878-1890). — Up to 1848 the Zollverein had favored a protective policy. Afterwards in the sixties had followed a system of reciprocity treaties with France, Austria, Great Britain, Italy and other countries showing a marked tendency toward free trade. The national liberals advocated abolition of all duties on raw materials, a policy supposed to enjoy the approval of Prince Bismarck. But in December, 1878, the chancellor sent a communication to the Federal Council, wherein he condemned the existing policy and advocated higher rates as a means to increase the revenues of the state. His will was law. A new tariff was introduced and passed. It placed heavy duties on raw materials and considerably increased the duties on textile goods and other articles already taxed. Subsequently, until his fall in 1890, the tariff was forced higher and higher.

The Triple Alliance (1879-). — Only the principal facts and not all the details are known in reference to the triple alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. Austria, after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-1878, whereby she had secured Hertzegovina and Bosnia, was uneasy on the Russian frontier. Neither Austria nor Russia was likely to forget the part the former had played in the Crimean War. So she concluded a secret treaty with Germany in 1879, "an alliance for peace and mutual defence," in case either Power should be attacked by Russia or by some state supported by Russia. Italy, without reason to dread attack, but probably desirous of imperial fellowship and recognition, asked to be admitted to this alliance. Meanwhile, from 1887 to 1890 another secret treaty existed between Germany and Russia which only became known to the world by the revelations of Bismarck in 1896.

Death of Emperor William I (March 9, 1888). — The absolutist policy, with which he began his reign as king of Prussia, had been maintained by him as German emperor and won a magnificent success. The astounding growth of the socialist party was demonstration against a principle rather than against a man. The appreciation of his great achievements had made the sovereign, who was hated and hooted at the beginning of his reign, the idol of his people at the end. His simple and homely ways, his blunt soldierly bearing and his chivalric devotion to his mother's memory won the hearts even of those Germans who were the most hostile to his political principles. His death at the age of ninety-one was received with a consternation of grief. Though Bismarck and Moltke outlived him, it was an anxious question in the minds of many whether the imperial fabric he had built up would survive his departure.

Frederick I (1888). — The Crown Prince Frederick succeeded. He had made a splendid record as a soldier in the Austro-Prussian and Franco-Prussian wars. On several occasions he had shown liberal tendencies, which his marriage with Victoria, crown princess of Great Britain and eldest daughter of Queen Victoria, was supposed to fortify. He had even protested against the Army bill of 1862 and given public expression of his dissent from a subsequent despotic action of the government. But a fatal throat disease had fastened upon him before his accession. It was only as a doomed and speechless invalid that he occupied the throne. His three months' reign is memorable for his spirit of self-forgetfulness and devotion to duty.

Reign of William II (1888-). — William II was twenty-nine years old when he became emperor. His first proclamation was addressed to the army and navy, and he has manifested ever since an almost passionate interest in these branches of the public service. His speech on opening the Reichstag, as well as his first address to the German people, indicated his absolutist policy. Louis XIV himself was in the seventeenth century not a more convinced impersonification of the divine right of kings. "The supreme guardian of law and order," he regards himself as crowned by God, as the anointed elector of the divine will, and as entitled to the unquestioning obedience of his subjects. A wonderful activity or restlessness has been the most prominent characteristic of his reign. No other

European sovereign has been such a constant traveller to foreign lands. No other European sovereign has so interfered not only in all branches of administration, but in all matters relating to public, social and religious life. A ready speaker, there is hardly a topic left untouched in his speeches, and his speeches have been delivered on all occasions. Always the dominant sentiment, whatever the theme, is the doctrine of autocracy.

The first year of his reign was marked by an event of historic significance. In October, 1888, the free cities of Hamburg and Bremen, whose right to remain free ports had been ratified in the imperial constitution of 1871, renounced their special and ancient privileges and completely merged themselves in the common Fatherland. Great pomp attended the ceremony. The emperor came in person to accept their patriotic sacrifice. Except that their sovereignty was represented in the Bundesrath by the side of that of princes, the last vestige of the Hanseatic League had disappeared.

Between the veteran chancellor, who had controlled the helm for almost a generation, and the youthful emperor, eager to exercise his power, there was sure to be friction. The temper of Bismarck, by no means pliable, had not softened with success and age. The chief of the staff, the Count of Waldersee, and other courtiers fostered the growing alienation. The chancellor persisted in a bill which the emperor disapproved. The emperor issued a decree in a sense which the chancellor had always opposed. The chancellor refused to repeat a certain conversation, although urged to do so by the emperor. On March 17, 1890, came a message from the emperor that he was waiting for the chancellor's resignation. The chancellor refused to resign. Then followed a direct order demanding his resignation. Bismarck in his fall did not manifest the self-control he had shown in his powerful days, and filled Germany with his complaints. It was his mistake to believe himself still essential to the state, when his work had been long since done. Yet the emperor might have dealt more gently with the old man, to whom the empire owed its existence and to whom he himself was indebted for his imperial crown. In 1894 the sovereign and the subject were publicly reconciled amid universal rejoicing, and the latter received an ovation from all classes at Berlin. Afterwards he exercised

no further influence upon affairs, but quietly resided at his castle of Friedrichsruhe until his death (July 30, 1898).

A work of immense utility was officially inaugurated in 1891. This was the Baltic Canal. Beginning at Holtenau on the Bay of Kiel, it joins the Elbe fifteen miles from its mouth. Although sixty-one miles in length it requires no locks. By means of this stupendous achievement the German navy can pass from the Baltic through German territory to the North Sea, and is no longer compelled to make the tortuous and dangerous voyage among the Danish islands and through the Cattegat and Skager Rack.

Since 1871 the empire has engaged in no foreign war. But not for a moment has been relaxed the policy which renders Germany, and hence all Europe, a camp of soldiers and which secures only the anxieties and uncertainties of an armed peace. Because of her strategic position and the acknowledged efficiency of her troops, until Germany disarms, none of the other great Powers can afford to do so. In December, 1897, her standing army on a peace establishment comprised 607,000 men. Thus the most vigorous of her population were withdrawn from the ranks of producers. As yet she only begins to show the inevitably destructive consequences of an unnatural militarism. The increase of socialism, which does not so much menace the state as its prevailing military and political system, here finds its cause. German socialism is the appalling protest against inequality and government by the sword. Under William I, Bismarck endeavored to prevent its expansion by restrictive laws and employment of force. William II has been slightly more sagacious because more mild in dealing with it. But all measures to suppress it must be abortive as long as the chief causes remain. In 1872 there were but two socialists in the Reichstag. There were forty-four in 1893 and in 1898 fifty-four. These figures give an unfair indication of their strength, inasmuch as in the cities is the hotbed of socialism, and the cities have a smaller number of deputies in proportion to population than do the rural districts. In 1874 the socialists polled only 340,000 votes. In 1890 they polled 1,427,000; in 1893, 1,786,000; and in 1898, 2,120,000. No other political party could muster so many adherents. The future of Germany is the gravest problem now confronting Europe.

VIII

ITALY

Condition of the Italian Peninsula in 1850. — The present of Italy was never darker and her outlook upon the future more discouraging than in the summer of 1850. The revolutionary war of 1848, that had swept over the country from the lagoons of Venice to the extremities of Sicily, had receded, and left nothing but defeat and disappointment behind.

Italy at that time comprised the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, the States of the Church, the grand duchy of Tuscany, the duchies of Parma and Modena, the Lombardo-Venetian territory and the kingdom of Piedmont or Sardinia. In the Two Sicilies Ferdinand II, no longer dreading popular outbreak, had suspended the constitution which he had granted, and from his palace in Naples worked his brutal and bloody will without check or hindrance. In the States of the Church, stretching in irregular diagonal across Italy from the Tuscan Sea to the mouths of the Po, Pope Pius IX threw the influence of his exalted office on the side of despotism. Under the influence of Cardinal Antonelli and the protection of French bayonets he ruled as tyrannically as any temporal prince. In Tuscany the Archduke Leopold II, himself the grandson of an Austrian emperor, turned his back upon his brief compromise with the partisans of reform and maintained an Austrian garrison in Florence. In Parma and Modena Charles III and the cruel Francis V, by the aid of Austrian troops, restored an absolute government and terrorized over opposition. Lombardy and Venetia, placed under martial law, were governed from the fortress of Verona by the merciless Radetzki and Haynau, the "hyena of Brescia."

The only exception to the universal darkness was found in Piedmont. In that tiny country of 4,000,000 inhabitants, the "Fundamental Statute," a sort of charter, was still in force. It possessed a dynasty of its own and a

national flag and a national army. Though defeated, it had in two campaigns dared to resist Austria. But the heroic Charles Albert, by failure, had been forced to abdicate and die in exile, leaving his throne to his son, Victor Emmanuel. The young king had borne himself bravely at the battle of Novara. But his queen was an Austrian archduchess, he was unpopular with his subjects and his abilities were a matter of doubt. There was little cohesion or sympathy between the four territories making the kingdom of Piedmont or Sardinia. These were Piedmont proper, buttressed against the Alps and inhabited by a brave and simple people; southern Liguria, with Genoa, a republican centre, ill disposed to the dynasty; Savoy, on the western slope of the Alps, French in language and sentiment; and the island of Sardinia, which remained apart from the life of Europe. Yet in this sparsely populated, ill-connected country the expulsion of the Austrians and the political unification of the peninsula were preparing.

Count Cavour. — In every other respect no two men are more dissimilar than Prince Bismarck and Count Cavour, but they parallel each other in the main purpose of their lives and the magnificence of its accomplishment. Cavour is the Italian Bismarck. Unlike his German prototype he did not live to see his work complete, but he set in motion those forces which were to expel Austria from Italy as Bismarck expelled her from Germany, and to place on the map a kingdom of Italy as Bismarck placed there a German Empire. Himself a less spectacular figure and moving in a more contracted arena, he does not so centre the gaze of mankind. Yet no other statesman of contemporary times is equally worthy to be placed next to the great German.

By birth an aristocrat, always a monarchist, a Catholic but a moderate, Cavour was detested by the extremists of all parties. Prime minister in 1852, he welcomed to Piedmont the political exiles from all over Italy, and thus early caused it to be understood that in his little country was the only refuge of Italian patriotism and liberty.

Piedmont in the Crimean War (1855-1856). — When the Crimean War broke out, Cavour determined that Piedmont should actively participate in the conflict. Great Britain, in need of troops, proposed to subsidize the Piedmontese. Cavour offered to enter the Franco-British alliance, not as a mercenary, but as an equal. His proposal to maintain

an army of 15,000 men in the Crimea as long as the war lasted was gladly accepted. He more than kept his word. At the decisive battle of Tchernaya the discipline of his countrymen and the accuracy of their aim provoked admiration. The timid and hesitating course of Austria during the war had exasperated France and Great Britain. When at the Congress of Paris Cavour, as representative of Piedmont, skilfully drew the attention of the plenipotentiaries to the evils of Austrian rule in Italy and the deplorable state of the peninsula, his words fell upon sympathetic ears. Thus the Italian question was definitely posed. It could not be henceforth forgotten till it received definite solution.

The War of 1859. — At first Cavour had counted on the active assistance of Great Britain. Disappointed in his hopes, he made overtures to Napoleon. In his secret interview with Napoleon at Plombières (July, 1858), the conditions and terms of alliance between France and Piedmont were verbally agreed upon. In April, 1859, Austria made the diplomatic blunder of taking the aggressive and forcing on the war. Victor Emmanuel appealed to his compatriots of the centre and south. For years secret societies had existed over Italy, united under the mystic symbol, *Verdi*, the initials of the words Vittorio Emanuele Re d'Italia. The French and Piedmontese victories of Montebello and Magenta inspired them to courage and action. Popular risings in Tuscany, Parma and Modena drove out the dukes. The Romagna, the papal territories along the Adriatic, likewise took fire and the papal officials were expelled. The overwhelming victory of Solferino was followed by the sudden peace of Villafranca, agreed upon by Napoleon and Francis Joseph. This treaty seemed to shatter all the hopes of Italian union and independence.

By its terms Lombardy was to be united to Piedmont, and Venetia, still under the rule of Austria, was to be made part of an Italian federation under the presidency of the Pope. This petty gain was trivial compared with what Cavour and the Italians had hoped. The Dukes of Tuscany and Modena were to return to their states. The formidable quadrilateral — Peschiera, Mantua, Verona and Legnago — was retained by Austria. Victor Emmanuel could do nothing but accept the hard conditions as far as he himself and his country were concerned, but he would promise nothing farther. Cavour was broken-hearted. Utterly losing his

self-control, in a bitter two hours' interview, he overwhelmed his sovereign with reproaches and withdrew from the ministry. The definite treaty of Zurich (November 10) confirmed the decisions of Villafranca.

Successful Revolutions. Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi (1859-1865).—The king took possession of Lombardy. For the banished dukes to regain their duchies was more difficult. In August the assemblies of Parma, Modena and Tuscany declared that their former rulers had forfeited all their rights, demanded annexation to Piedmont and recognized Victor Emmanuel as their sovereign. The Romagna did the same. Plebiscites by almost unanimous votes confirmed these acts. The son of Charles Albert had become king of 11,000,000 people. In January, 1860, Cavour again became prime minister.

In Naples Francis II had succeeded his father, Ferdinand II of evil memory. Deaf to the counsels of the French and British cabinets, he resolved to continue the same policy. All Sicily rebelled. Because of diplomatic pressure from abroad, the astute Cavour could not interfere or accept the propositions of the revolutionist Mazzini, but he could allow others to act. Garibaldi, with 1000 resolute men, hurried from Genoa (May 5, 1860) and landed at Marsala in Sicily. He was not a statesman, hardly a general, but only a hero who rushed on in his red shirt sure that others would follow and careless whether they did or not. In three days he stormed Palermo. The battle of Milazzo gave him Messina and the whole island (July 20). He crossed the strait and marched on Naples. Francis II fled from his capital (September 6). The next day Garibaldi entered Naples without opposition and was hailed as a liberator. He was at once accepted as dictator of the Two Sicilies.

But the tempestuous success of the revolution was a danger and menace to Cavour. Mazzini, the republicans of the south and even Garibaldi had no love for the house of Piedmont. They might easily become its foes. Meanwhile the courts of Europe held Cavour responsible for the whirlwind that was unloosed. The government of every European state was unfriendly or openly hostile. The storm that had swept Sicily and Naples was ready to burst on Rome; but Rome was garrisoned by French troops and behind them was the threatening form of Napoleon. A

single false step on the part of Cavour might ruin all that Italy and Piedmont had gained in twelve anxious years. Indecision was fatal. Should Cavour yield to the conservative warnings of Europe, or should he now without reserve head the party of action? There could be no compromise with Garibaldi, who was resolved to proclaim Italian independence from the top of the Quirinal.

The prime minister invited the Pope to disband his foreign army. When Pius IX refused, he ordered the Piedmontese generals to invade the papal states and rescue them from despotism and anarchy. After a brave defence by the French general, De Lamoricière, all the still remaining papal territory on the Adriatic was in the hands of the Piedmontese, but the eternal city was left to the Pope. In a calm and sagacious speech, delivered before the Parliament, but really addressed to the bar of Europe, Cavour declared that he submitted the question of Rome and Venetia to the arbitrament of time. Francis II still resisted feebly, but obstinately. He then retained only a Sicilian citadel and the fortress of Gaeta. A plebiscite in the Two Sicilies and in the papal states of Umbria and the Marches by an almost unanimous vote declared for union with emancipated Italy and for Victor Emmanuel as king.

The monarch and the dictator held their formal but simple first interview near Teano (October 26). The Piedmontese troops and the Garibaldian volunteers threw themselves into each other's arms. Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi galloped to meet each other. As they embraced, the armies shouted, "Long live Victor Emmanuel!" leaving it for Garibaldi to add, "king of Italy!"

All the Italian provinces, except Venetia and the papal territory on the Tuscan Sea, were now united under one flag. The tricolor of green, white and red sheltered them all. On February 18, 1861, the first national parliament assembled at Turin to enact laws for a people of 22,000,000 souls. Then (June 6) Cavour died, worn out by labor and success. He was succeeded by Baron Ricasoli, whom Signor Ratazzi soon replaced. The Roman question was keeping the kingdom in a ferment. Garibaldi resolved to settle it with the sword. Refusing to submit to the orders of the government, with a band of Sicilian volunteers he marched northward through Calabria. Encountered by the royal troops at Aspromonte, his followers were dispersed and he

himself was wounded and made a prisoner. The ignominious necessity of firing upon the liberator forced the Ratazzi ministry from office. In the autumn of 1865 the capital was removed from Turin to Florence.

Alliance with Prussia against Austria (1866). — This alliance was equally advantageous to Prussia and Italy. Thereby Austria was compelled to divide her forces and despatch to the southwest generals and troops sorely needed on her northern frontier. Italy lost rather than gained in military reputation by the reverses of General La Marmora and Admiral Persano at Custozza and Lissa. None the less her assistance had inclined the scale to the side of Prussia. She well deserved her reward in the acquisition of Venetia. Another almost unanimous plebiscite and Victor Emmanuel, on November 7, entered the city of the doges as its king.

Rome the Capital of Italy (1870). — The Italian heart was always turning to Rome. In 1866 Napoleon, according to his promise, withdrew the French garrison, but the Italian government was not free to interfere in the still remaining papal possessions. Garibaldi could not curb his impatience. A third time he marched an army upon Roman territory. In deference to the clerical party in France, Napoleon sent an expedition to support the Pope and Garibaldi was defeated at the battle of Mentana. The French prime minister, Rouher, formally declared, "Italy shall never enter Rome."

Again protected by French soldiers, the Pope felt himself secure, and assembled the Ecumenical Council (1869). Soon came upon France the disasters of the Franco-Prussian war, and she was forced to recall every arm on which she could rely. Her troops quitted Rome. The king, with earnest tenderness, implored the Pope to recognize the inevitable trend of events, and, while relinquishing his temporal sovereignty, to resign himself to that independent and exalted position which the Italians desired him to occupy. The inflexible pontiff declared he would yield only to compulsion. The Italian forces delayed no longer, but occupied the city. By one more plebiscite, this time the last, the life-work of the dead Cavour received its coronation, and the peninsula, reunited, had again the same capital as in the days of Cæsar.

The Last Years of Victor Emmanuel (1870-1878). — The

new state at the start was surrounded by peculiar difficulties and dangers. Foremost were those arising from the religious question. The Pope was not merely a dispossessed temporal prince, but the spiritual head of Catholic Christendom. He was bitterly opposed to everything in the new order. He would tolerate no suggestions of compromise. Against the excommunicated government of Victor Emmanuel he threw the whole influence of the Catholic priesthood and appealed for help to the Catholic powers of Europe. The country was covered with monasteries and churches, which had absorbed the material wealth, while the people were stricken with poverty. To touch a convent or a priest was denounced as sacrilege.

In the enthusiasm of revolution and conflict the Italian provinces had come together. At bottom they were antagonistic in ideas, customs, history and local prejudices. They had no traditions of headship or union. Distinct idioms of language emphasized their separation. How were they ever to be moulded into one people?

The military system of Europe laid upon Italy a heavy burden. When the United States of America became a fact, they could dismiss their troops to civil life, because alone upon a continent and protected by 3000 miles of ocean. But the safety and the very existence of Italy depended on her immediate development and maintenance of an immense standing army. The latest arrival among the nations had to conform herself to the situation as she found it.

Ages of oppression had given the people few roads or bridges or means of communication. They had neither schools, courts, effective police nor equitable system of raising revenue. Brigandage was a profession over a large part of the territory. Ignorant and lawless, they were generations behind the civilized world.

The king and his advisers applied themselves with patience and good sense to the organization of the kingdom. They accomplished much in every department of administration, but evils which had been growing for centuries could not be radically cured in a single reign.

By the guarantee law of May, 1871, they endeavored to regulate the relations of the papal and royal courts. They declared the person of the sovereign pontiff inviolable, decreed him sovereign honors and a military guard, assigned

him an annual income of 3,225,000 francs, the possession of the Vatican, of St. John Lateranus and the villa of Castel-Gandolfo and their dependencies. They carefully left him perfect liberty in the exercise of his spiritual functions, while reaffirming that his temporal sovereignty had departed. But the Pope was willing to accept nothing from a government which he considered irreligious and anti-Christian, and once more protested solemnly against all the measures taken.

Victor Emmanuel died on January 9, 1878, at the age of fifty-eight. It is pleasant to remember that on his death-bed he received a kindly message and absolution from the Holy Father, who in that supreme hour allowed his natural tenderness as a man to triumph over his rigid dogmatism as priest. One month afterwards, at the age of eighty-six, after a pontificate of thirty-one years — the longest in papal history — the Pope followed the monarch to the tomb. The conclave of cardinals, on February 10, elected Cardinal Pecci, chamberlain of the Sacred College, to the Holy See.

The Reign of King Humbert (1878-). — This year Italy celebrates the twentieth anniversary of his accession. His reign presents less general interest than his father's. Its electoral struggles have been waged rather upon the personality of leaders — Depretis, Cairoli, Crispi — than upon party platforms. A leading question was that of alliances, whether Italy should follow France or Germany. Gradually the centre of influence has shifted from the north to the more democratic provinces of the south. Burdens of taxation to further colonial projects and maintain an enormous army and powerful navy have fallen heavily upon an impoverished people. On this account during the present year disorders in the chief Italian cities have broken out. In Milan in a street fight in May, 1898, several hundred persons were killed and over 1000 wounded. Yet there has been progress in the tranquillization of the country and in the application of constitutional government. Specially has there been a remarkable development in education.

Italy had counted upon Tunis as a future acquisition, a sort of colonial counterpoise to the neighboring French province of Algeria. But in 1881 Tunis was seized by the French. The angry Italians were powerless. Indignation at the French and national vanity made them join Germany and Austria in the Triple Alliance. They sought for some

equivalent for Tunis and believed they had found it on the western shores of the Red Sea. By holding Massowah on that sea, they imagined that all the trade of Abyssinia would flow through their hands. It was gratifying to think of sharing with the other great Powers in the spoils of Africa. Costly wars followed with the negus of Abyssinia, but they gained the colony of Eritrea (1890), South Somali (1889), the Somali coast (1893) and Tigré (1895). Though all Abyssinia was declared an Italian protectorate (1889) the negus, Menelek, continued his resistance. General Baratieri met a terrible reverse at Amba Alaghi (1895). Commandant Galliano made a heroic defence at Makallé, but on March 1, 1896, General Baratieri was crushed by the negus at Adowa, losing all his guns and one-third of his troops. This frightful disaster caused the fall of Crispi, who had been prime minister since 1887. Finally, the humiliating treaty of Adis Abeba (October 26, 1896) closed the ill-judged and ill-advised expedition. The absolute independence of Abyssinia was recognized and almost all the Italian conquests restored.

Italia Irredenta. — All ancient Italy, as indicated by geography and extending southward from the Alps, had been brought under one sceptre. Beyond those mountain barriers or inhabiting the islands of the sea were people whose language was Italian and who were claimed as belonging to the Italian family. Such were Nice, Savoy and Corsica, occupied by France, Malta by Great Britain, and South Tyrol, Trieste and the islands and shores of the northwestern Adriatic by Austria. To these territories in common the name of Italia Irredenta or "not emancipated Italy" is applied. To repossess or acquire them is the ambition of to-day. So little is said concerning it that the idea seems to slumber, but it is no less real and deep-seated.

IX

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Accession of Francis Joseph (1848).—The reign of Francis Joseph fills the history of Austria during the last fifty years. A youth of eighteen, he ascended a throne that seemed tottering to its fall. In every part of his dominions there was disorder or open rebellion. In the proclamation announcing his accession he declared, "We hope with the aid of God and in concert with our peoples to succeed in reuniting in one great state body all the countries and all the races of the monarchy." This ambition was worthy of a great sovereign. It was possible only under some form of centralized federation, which, while grouping all around a common point, left individuality to each. It was a programme which every people under the monarchy except one was ready to ratify. The one dissident and opposing member in the body politic was the German minority. Accustomed to rule, it would not descend to a plane of equality with the other races, on whom it looked with the contempt of a superior. And they, proud of their traditions and confident in their strength, asked not for favors, but for rights. As a result the agitation was smothered for a time and Austria entered upon bleak years of pitiless reaction.

Austrian Absolutism (1850-1866).—Letters patent from the emperor (January 1, 1852) divided the different provinces into administrative circles and curtailed further the meagre powers of the various diets. Hungary was ruled by martial law until 1854. The attempt was made to Germanize all Austrian subjects. The German language was rendered obligatory in the civil administration, the courts and schools of the Hungarians, Servians, Roumanians, Croatians, Slavonians and Bohemians. For a Bohemian to publish a newspaper in his own language was a crime. The press was silenced and jury decisions were reversed by superior order.

In its measures of repression the government invoked the powerful coöperation of the Catholic Church. The Austrian bishops had declared "that sentiment of nationality was a relic of paganism; that difference of languages was a consequence of the original fall of man." Hence all were to be Germanized! The concordat of 1855 placed all private and public education under the control of the bishops, and allowed the circulation of no book which had met ecclesiastical censure. It gave to the high clergy the right to imprison and inflict corporal penalties on whom they pleased, and for that end put at their disposal the governmental police. Prince Schwartzenberg had died in 1852. But under Alexander Bach, minister of the interior and negotiator of the concordat, the dark ages settled down upon Austria.

In the Crimean War Austria willingly played an ignoble part. She owed to the Tsar Nicholas an eternal debt, because he had rescued her in the Hungarian revolution. But she dreaded the might of Russia and would gladly see her crippled. Moreover, it was her interest to uphold the authority of the Sultan over his Christian subjects. Though ostensibly on the side of Great Britain and France, her dilatory tactics and irresolution angered the allies. When, by the alliance of France and Piedmont in 1859, Austria was swept out of Lombardy, she was reaping as she had sown. Her Bohemian and Hungarian subjects rejoiced in her reverses at Magenta and Solferino. In Bohemia the peasants said, "If we are defeated, we shall have a constitution; if we are victorious, we shall have the Inquisition."

The emperor had grown older and hence stronger and wiser. He dismissed Bach and ventured on some timid reforms (1860). Goluchowski, a Galician, neither German nor Hungarian, was called to the ministry and allowed to elaborate a partial charter. The Schmerling ministry was charged with its application. There was to be a Chamber of Nobles, named by the sovereign, and a Chamber of Deputies, named by the provincial Diets. But all was so devised as to swamp the other nationalities under the preponderance of the Germans. The scheme was a dismal failure. Venetia, Hungary, Transylvania and Croatia refused to send their representatives. The Hungarian leader, Deák, planted himself firmly on the abrogated Hungarian constitution of 1848. The Hungarian legists asserted that Francis Joseph

was not legally their sovereign as he had never come to their country to be crowned. The emperor paid a formal visit to Pesth. He dismissed Schmerling from office and replaced him by Belcredi, a Moravian, who cared far less for the Germanization of the empire. Prague, Pesth and Lemberg illuminated as for victory. In Galicia they even dared to teach the Polish language in the schools. Hungary awoke to new life, and in its Diet openly demanded all the rights and privileges which the Emperor Ferdinand IV had granted.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and Political Reforms (1866). — The Austro-Prussian War, with its catastrophe of Sadowa, was in the end a blessing to Austria. Like Antæus, she rose the stronger for having been prostrated upon the ground. Her German inhabitants, as arrogant and self-assertive as before, remained to her, but her internal and foreign policy could never again be the same. She was no longer a German state. Even the loss of Venetia, though a humiliation, increased rather than diminished her strength. As long as Austria sought her centre of gravity outside herself, whether in Italy or Germany, she had defied with impunity all the aspirations of her subject races and had scoffed at their historic rights. Now it was forced upon the consciousness of the most obtuse that she must revolutionize all her antecedent policy or submit to speedy dissolution. The Emperor Francis Joseph keenly realized both the imminent perils and the rich possibilities of the situation. A new order of things could never be brought about by any statesman of his dominions, identified as was each of them with some grievance or faction. With insight akin to genius he discerned the man for the hour. He invited a foreigner and a Protestant, a former minister of Saxony, the Count von Beust, to accept the chancellorship and to undertake the complete reorganization — political, financial, military — of the most devotedly Roman Catholic and hitherto the most reactionary empire in Europe.

The new chancellor treated at once with the Hungarians. The terms of the *Ausgleich* or agreement with Hungary were submitted by a committee of sixty-seven members of the Magyar Diet, having at their head Francis Deák, "the Franklin of Hungary," the ablest, purest and most patriotic of her sons. Their first two proposals were, that

the emperor should recognize the independent existence of Hungary by giving her a ministry of her own and should himself be crowned as her king. Count Julius Andrassy, a political exile, who had been condemned to death for his share in the revolution of 1848, was appointed Hungarian prime minister (February 18, 1867). On June 8 the coronation of Francis Joseph at Pesth as king of Hungary was celebrated with all the ancient ceremony and pomp. Twenty days later he ratified the *Ausgleich*. The Hungarian crown and stripe of green were added to the imperial flag, which ever since has indicated the dual monarchy.

Every feature of the new political arrangement bore a dual character. The *Ausgleich* itself afforded a *modus vivendi*, but it was as much a formula of separation as a formula of union. It was like the hyphen dividing and joining the two words in the official title, Austro-Hungarian, by which the new empire was to be known. Henceforth there was Cisleithania or "Austria," a jumble of all the states and provinces supposed to be on the west of the Leitha, and Transleithania or "Hungary," another jumble of all the states and provinces on the east of that river. In each jumble there were two factors, a dominant and supercilious minority — Magyar in Hungary, German in Austria — and an overborne and refractory majority. The only cord which fastened Cisleithania and Transleithania together was possession of a common dynasty. Let that dynasty become extinct and at once they would fall apart. Affairs of foreign interest but common to the two — foreign relations, war, marine, imperial finances — were to be confided to an imperial cabinet responsible to the parliaments of the two states. Affairs of domestic common interest — coinage, customs-duties, military service, special legislation — were controlled by delegates of the two parliaments, sixty from each state, to meet alternately at Vienna and Pesth. Nor could these delegates do more than vote a temporary arrangement, a kind of contract, for ten years.

Such a system was an anomaly, a political experiment without precedent. Hungary entered upon it with her revived liberal constitution of 1848. She assumed three-tenths of the public debt. Austria likewise possessed a liberal constitution, in its present form dating from 1867. The seventeen Austrian provinces had each its *Landtag* or legislative body. Above them rose the *Reichsrath*, con-

sisting of a house of lords and house of 203 deputies, elected by the seventeen Landtags.

Hungary was appeased. The Austrian Germans were content, but a cry of indignation and rage went up from all the other peoples of the empire. The Slavs had received nothing but wordy concessions as to education and language, which were expected to be and were afterwards evaded.

The Bohemians or Czechs had historic rights as ancient and a political entity as definite and distinct as the Magyars of Hungary. Nor were they far inferior to them in number. But Count von Beust was seeking not justice but expediency, and believed that, since two races were satisfied, he could ignore the rest. Bohemia, Moravia, Carniola, refused to send delegates to the Reichsrath. So skilfully had the electoral apportionments been manipulated that their abstention did not cause a deadlock, a minority of voters being represented by a quorum or majority of deputies. An ethnographic congress was then being held in Moscow (1867). It was natural that many Austrian Slavs should attend this family reunion of pan-Slavism. Their presence in the ancient metropolis of the Tsars produced a profound sensation all over Europe.

Meanwhile the concordat was practically abrogated, civil marriage authorized, education taken from clerical control, the jury restored, the press partially emancipated, the right of public meetings guaranteed, and the army reorganized on the Prussian model. Some of these reforms became sharp-edged weapons in Slavic hands. On August 22, 1868, the Czech deputies issued their declaration. By this memorable document, which constitutes the platform of the Bohemian nation to-day, in calm and dignified language they set forth their rights and their demands. Encouraged by the emperor (September, 1871) they submitted a programme, called the Fundamental Articles, which proposed autonomy for Bohemia under Francis Joseph, who was to be crowned its king. The furious outcry of the Hungarians and Germans prevented its being carried into effect. Shortly afterwards the title of chancellor was suppressed. Von Beust was succeeded as minister of foreign affairs by Count Andrassy. Thus a Hungarian had become the ministerial head of the dual empire.

The Hungarians continued to treat their Slavic and other

subjects as cruelly as the Austrians in their worst days had treated them. Their conception of freedom or toleration was limited to freedom and toleration for themselves. Difference of religion inflamed the hatred of race. They regarded the Croatians, Roumanians, Servians, Slovaks, not so much as members of other nationalities, but as dissenters and heretics who must be Magyarized at any cost. Nor were they at first inclined to renew the *Ausgleich* with Austria when its first term of ten years expired. In both countries local matters continued to absorb the public mind until the insurrection in Herzegovina against the Sultan and the massacres in Bulgaria roused the attention of Europe and thrust the Eastern Question again to the front.

Acquisition of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878). — In 1877, after having exhausted all the resources of diplomacy to end the horrors in Bulgaria, Russia declared war against the Sultan and invaded the Ottoman Empire. The Austro-Hungarian government was involved in extreme difficulty. Its Slavic subjects sympathized keenly with their suffering brethren in Turkey and demanded coöperation with Russia. The Hungarians, blood kinsmen of the Turks, mindful of Turkish hospitality in 1849 and full of resentment against Russia, were as eager to coöperate with Turkey. General Klapka, the hero of Komorn, offered his services to the Sultan. The Turks were toasted and feasted at Pesth and the Russians at Prague. The Germans, dominant at Vienna, cared nothing for the Bulgarians. Above all, they dreaded the extension of Russian influence and territory which was certain to result from the war. But the racial condition of their empire made neutrality a necessity. To side in arms with either belligerent would rend the monarchy in twain. Yet, anxious to make the most of a difficult situation, the government intended that its enforced neutrality should be paid for. A quasi promise was obtained from the Tsar that on the conclusion of peace he would not oppose the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. The Congress of Berlin (1878) authorized Austria to occupy and administer those provinces "in the name of the Sultan." Their conquest was bloody and costly. It added to the embarrassment of the empire even more than to its territory. It introduced a population difficult to amalgamate and increased the already threatening Slavic mass.

Austria-Hungary from 1878 to 1898. — Count Taaffe was minister-president from 1879 to 1893. An opportunist and a moderate, he endeavored to be hardly more than a political peacemaker. His efforts in that direction met little success, as did those of the Polish Count Badeni, who was in office from 1895 until November 30, 1897. Constantly the Austrian, and in less degree the Hungarian, parliament presented a scene of indescribable turbulence and confusion. Sometimes their disorder and lawlessness disgraced the name of legislation. Yet in their babel of languages and their bedlam of factional strife there was always something definite which the speaker or the party was seeking. What appeared to the ear or the eye mere wrangling was at bottom a serious assertion of principles, true or false, and a vindication or denial of rights. Hardly anywhere else has personality counted so little.

Since October, 1895, Count Goluchowski, a Pole, has been minister of foreign affairs. To him more than to any other statesman is due the policy of concert, followed by the six great Powers in reference to the Armenian, Cretan and Greek questions of 1895-1897.

Political Problems of To-day. — In more than one respect the Austro-Hungarian rather than the Ottoman Empire is the sick man of Europe. The antagonism of its races was never more pronounced than to-day and their interests never more divergent. The general advance of education renders each more able to secure those ends on which it is fiercely determined. Circumstances have made Austria-Hungary a migratory state upon the map, moving toward the south and east. But farther progress in that direction is checked by the vigorous youthful states along the Danube and the Balkans, while further disintegration is probable on the north and southwest. Yet her internal weakness is not so manifest as in the dark days when the present sovereign assumed his crown.

X

RUSSIA

Nicholas I (1825-1855). — As ruler of Russia the Tsar Nicholas during his reign of thirty years exercised a three-fold influence upon European politics. First, as heir, not only to the victorious empire, but to the ideas of his brother, Alexander I, he was the acknowledged head of the absolutist or reactionary party throughout Europe. Second, as sovereign of the largest Slavic state, he was the hope of an awakening pan-Slavism, that should reunite Slavic tribes. The overthrow and absorption of Poland, the second largest Slavic state, after an intermittent warfare of centuries between her and Russia, was congenial to the other Slavs. It was among the Western states that she found most sympathizers and not among peoples of the same blood. Third, as sovereign of the empire of orthodoxy, he was regarded, and regarded himself, as of right the protector and champion of his coreligionists, subjects of other rulers, specially of the Greek Orthodox Christians, subjects of the Sultan of Turkey.

This presumed right of a Russian Tsar had been recognized by treaties, such as those of Kainardji (1774), Yassi (1792), Adrianople (1829) and Hunkiar Iskelessi (1833), with the Ottoman Empire. In this respect Nicholas was the legitimate successor of Peter the Great. Yet unlike Peter he detested Western civilization. A young man of eighteen at the time of the French invasion, the horrors and the triumph of that gigantic struggle were burned into his soul. Russia unaided had then annihilated the hosts of the hitherto invincible Napoleon. It is not strange if Nicholas thought that Russia could withstand the world. By his accession in 1825, just a century after the death of the great Tsar, the Muscovite Empire, for the first time in a hundred years, had a sovereign who was wholly Russian at heart and who believed only in Russia. The Russians adored him with such loyalty as no other ruler of the house

of Romanoff had received. His unlooked-for advent to the throne was regarded as the special interposition of Providence. His brother, Constantine, seventeen years his senior, was the natural heir of Alexander I. But Constantine in 1820 had become devotedly attached to the Polish Countess Groudsinska. He could marry her only on condition of renouncing his rights of inheritance. He preferred the hand of the lady to the crown of Russia. "That, surely," said the peasants, "must have come from God."

The Crimean War (1853-1856).—Its apparent cause was a contention between Greek Orthodox and Latin priests as to the custody of certain holy places in Jerusalem (1851). The former were supported by Russia and the latter by France and Austria. A mixed commission to examine the matter was appointed by Sultan Abd-ul Medjid, which, while giving a temperate report, on the whole favored the Latins. The Russians and the Greek Orthodox rayahs of Turkey were indignant at the decision. It was a general Eastern superstition that the year 1853, which completed four centuries from the capture of Constantinople, would see the downfall of the Ottoman Empire. The Tsar believed all things were propitious to hasten that event.

He held two secret interviews (January 9 and 14, 1853) with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, wherein he spoke without reserve and asked the coöperation of Great Britain. He proposed to unite the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia into an independent state under the protection of Russia, and create two states of Servia and Bulgaria. He said nothing definite about Constantinople, but offered Crete and Egypt to Great Britain. It is interesting to remark that, with the exception of Crete, whose destiny is still undecided, the other propositions of the Tsar have become facts. "If we agree," he said, "I care little what the others"—France and Austria—"may do." The British ambassador shrewdly made public all that had been said to him in confidence. "The others" were enraged at the small account taken of them rather than at the propositions.

In May, 1853, Prince Mentchikoff was sent to Constantinople with a peremptory note, demanding that the complaints of Russian pilgrims to the Holy Land receive

satisfaction and that guarantees be given for the protection of the Greek Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, British ambassador to the Porte from 1842 to 1858, encouraged the Sultan to refuse compliance. The Russian armies crossed the Pruth and occupied the principalities. To avert war the Austrian government drew up the "Vienna Note," which was approved by France and Great Britain and accepted by Russia. But the British ambassador at Constantinople secured its rejection by the Sultan and persuaded him to take resolute action. The Porte delivered an ultimatum to Russia (September 26) and declared war (October 4).

The subsequent events of the struggle and its conclusion in the treaty of Paris are narrated in the chapter on the "Second French Empire." Nicholas had been outwitted in diplomacy and defeated in arms. Broken-hearted and disillusioned, even before the capture of Sebastopol, the "iron emperor" gave way. Sick and suffering, he committed imprudences which can only be explained as a desire to hasten his end. He himself dictated the despatch which he sent to all the great cities of Russia, "The emperor is dying," and expired on March 2, 1855.

The disasters of the Crimea had been a cruel revelation, not only to him but to his subjects. His army and his people had supposed they were to revolutionize the East, indefinitely extend their empire, and drive out the crescent from Jerusalem. Instead, they were obliged to dismantle their own fortresses and withdraw their warships from the Black Sea. Nothing however had occurred to disprove their proud boast that, should any hostile nation really penetrate Russia, its sovereign would there lose his crown like Charles XII and Napoleon the Great, and its army would leave there its bones.

Alexander II (1855-1881). — "Your burden will be heavy," his father had said to him when dying. To bear this burden nature had well fitted the new Tsar. Though devoted to his father's memory, he realized that his father's system had been found wanting and that another epoch must open in Russia. Everywhere there was the sullen rumble of discontent. Of mediocre ability, self-distrustful rather than headstrong, just, patient and plodding, he desired to inaugurate a new era. He determined to reform where it was possible and to mitigate what

he could not reform. In his manifesto immediately after the conclusion of peace he outlined his policy almost with boldness. The corruption and inefficiency of administration had been protected by a muzzled press, by a rigorous police and by a compulsory silence on the part of the people. He encouraged freedom of speech and thought. "The conservative Russia of Nicholas I seemed buried under the sod. Every one declared himself a liberal." Public opinion wished to undertake every reform at once, but the question of social reform dominated all others.

There were then 47,200,000 serfs, divided into two great classes. Of these 24,700,000, dependent upon the crown, enjoyed a large degree of personal freedom. They exercised local self-government, administered their own affairs in communes, or *mirs*, by an elected council, and possessed tribunals which they had themselves chosen. The prohibition to dispose of or acquire property and to remove from the place of birth was abolished by successive ukases, beginning July, 1858.

The other 22,500,000 serfs, the "disposition" of 120,000 nobles, were hardly better than slaves. The system had grown up strangely when Russia was bowed under the Tartar yoke, but it had been introduced by native princes and not by foreigners. Gradually the preceding Tsars or dukes of Moscow had imposed their absolute will on their vassals, the nobles, and the nobles had succeeded in doing the same to their vassals, the peasants or serfs, only more effectually. These aristocratic usurpations had been even confirmed and the *mujik* still further restricted by successive ukases during two centuries. Alexander I and Nicholas I himself had vainly tried to modify the iniquitous system. Innumerable difficulties stood in the way. Who should indemnify the proprietors for their loss? What was the advantage of freedom to emancipated serfs who could possess nothing of their own?

In March, 1856, Alexander II invited his "faithful nobility" to consider what steps were necessary to bring about emancipation. His suggestions were coldly received. He travelled over the country, appealing to the nobles to assist him, but their inertia was harder to overcome than active opposition. Finally, he issued his immortal edict of emancipation (March 3, 1861). Thus by a stroke of the pen, the serfs, hitherto fastened to the soil, were raised to

the rank of freemen. Provision was made for their acquiring property and for the protection of their newly granted liberty. But a change so radical was accompanied by local disturbances and bloodshed.

An annual statement of the public finances began to be made. The universities were delivered from the restrictions imposed by Nicholas. Foreigners acquired the same rights as were enjoyed by Russians abroad. Censorship of the press had been already relaxed. The use of the knout was abolished. Such Jews as exercised any manual occupation received permission to settle freely in the empire.

Reforms were likewise introduced into the administration of Poland. But the spirit of nationality was not extinct and nothing less than independence could satisfy the Poles. Further concessions accomplished little. The troubles went on increasing until January, 1863, when they took the form of guerilla warfare. Resistance was cruelly put down. The insurrection cost dearly to Poland. The last remains of her national life were stamped out. Polish was replaced by Russian as the official language and was forbidden in the schools. Ardent Slavophiles wished likewise to Russify Finland, but the Tsar confirmed all its political privileges. Livonia, Esthonia and Courland were not disquieted but continued to exist as vassal provinces, with their own language and laws, under the Russian crown.

Meanwhile the war in America was going on for the preservation of the Union. Russia was pronounced and outspoken in friendliness to the United States. The firm and consistent course pursued by her, when other powers were desirous of our national dissolution, is something which Americans cannot forget.

Revision of the Treaty of Paris (1871). — In 1870 Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian chancellor, informed the European Powers that Russia no longer considered herself bound by the Treaty of Paris as far as it curtailed her natural rights on the Black Sea. Various infractions of that treaty were assigned as reasons for this declaration. A conference of the signatory states at London accepted the declaration of Russia. Thus the most important result of the Crimean War was annulled. Russia has since been free to construct such fortifications as she pleased upon the shores of the Black Sea and to maintain a navy upon its waters. This

right was furthermore ratified by an agreement with Turkey (March 18, 1872).

The Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878). — The promises of the Sultan to introduce reform in the treatment of his Christian subjects had been flagrantly and constantly broken. Protected by the Treaty of Paris, wherein the Powers had waived all right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire, the Turks were no longer influenced by the restraint of fear. In 1874 the Slavic rayahs of Bosnia and Herzegovina rebelled. Again the Sultan promised reforms, but the insurgents demanded guarantees that he would keep his word. To prevent the flames of insurrection from spreading, Count Andrassy, the Austro-Hungarian chancellor, obtained the Sultan's approval to certain measures enumerated in a formal note (February 12, 1876), but the insurgents were still distrustful. Suddenly the consuls of Germany and France at Salonica were massacred by a Mussulman mob. Russia, Germany and Austria united in the memorandum of Berlin (May 1), demanding of the Sultan a two months' armistice with the Bosnians and Herzegovinians and immediate introduction of the reforms. They threatened the employment of force in case of refusal. Encouraged by the support of Great Britain, who refused to approve the memorandum, the Sultan withheld his consent.

The horrors of Bulgaria broke out, where more than 20,000 Bulgarians were massacred. Public meetings in Great Britain denounced the atrocities. Serbia and Montenegro took up arms. The latter was victorious. The former was totally defeated, though the Servian army contained many Russian volunteers and was commanded by the Russian General Tchernaiëff. Alexander II and the Russian official party wished to avoid war, though the Tsar in a speech at Moscow (November 12) openly expressed his sympathy for the Christians. France and Germany held themselves aloof. Austria did her utmost to preserve peace. Great Britain proposed a conference of the Powers at Constantinople, which met on November 23. It presented an ultimatum, requiring the autonomy of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria, concessions of territory to Montenegro, the status quo for Serbia, a general amnesty, genuine reform in Turkish administration and judiciary, and the nomination by the great Powers of two commissions to see that the promises were carried out. In case of

refusal all the ambassadors were to demand their passports. Sultan Abd-ul Hamid II was on the throne, his predecessors, Sultan Abd-ul Aziz and Sultan Mourad V, having been overthrown that same year by revolution. The astute Midhat Pasha was grand vizier. Again encouraged by the British ambassador, the Sultan refused to comply.

No Power was willing to act, though the ambassadors in a body had formally left Constantinople. Midhat Pasha signed a treaty with Servia, but Montenegro held out. Prince Gortschakoff sent a circular note to the European courts (January 31) and General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador, travelled over Europe to induce united action. The protocol of London (March 31) invited the Sultan to disarm, and announced, that if he continued to violate his promises of reform, the great Powers would consult further.

Nothing had been accomplished. The resources of a diplomacy of words were exhausted. Turkey was still indifferent or defiant. In Russia the Tsar and the official classes still hesitated, but the Russian people were aflame. Public sentiment, even in a despotic empire, could not be resisted. The same forces of humanity and sympathy, which compelled the American government to take up arms in the effort to end the horrors in Cuba, compelled the reluctant Tsar to take up arms to end longer-continued and more atrocious horrors in the dominions of the Sultan. The Russian war of 1877-1878 against Turkey finds its exact parallel in the American war of 1898 against Spain. Both were spontaneous armed uprisings in behalf of mankind.

The Tsar issued his manifesto on April 24, 1877. The war lasted until the preliminary treaty of San Stephano on March 3, 1878. It was carried on in both Asia and Europe.

In Asia the Russian general-in-chief, the Armenian Loris Melikoff, captured Ardahan (May 17). General Der Hougassoff, also an Armenian, took Bayezid (April 20) and gained the battles of Dram Dagħ (June 10) and Daïar (June 21). Melikoff, defeated at Zewin (June 26) by Mouktar Pasha, was obliged to retreat. The Russians received reënforcements. Mouktar Pasha was crushed at Aladja Dagħ (October 14-16) and driven into Erzeroum. Kars was stormed (November 18) and fell with 17,000 pris-

oners and 300 cannon. The road to Constantinople through Asia Minor was open.

In Europe Abd-ul Kerim Pasha, Turkish commander-in-chief, remained apathetic in his camp at Shoumla. The main Russian army crossed the Danube at Sistova (June 27). Baron von Krüdener took Nicopolis with 7000 prisoners, 113 cannon and two monitors (July 15). General Gourko attacked the Turks in the Balkans and seized the Shipka Pass (July 17-19). Panic reigned at Constantinople. The Ottoman Minister of War, Redif Pasha, who had proclaimed the Holy War, was removed. Abd-ul Kerim Pasha was replaced by Mehemet Ali Pasha, the son of a German tailor converted to Islam. Souleïman Pasha was recalled from Montenegro to protect the capital. Jealousy prevented coöperation among the Ottoman generals. Souleïman Pasha dashed his army against the Russians and the Bulgarian legion in vain attempts to regain the Shipka Pass (August 16 and September 17). Mehemet Ali Pasha was terribly defeated at Tserkoria (September 21). Osman Pasha was forced into Plevna (August 31). There he defended himself with skill and bravery. But his capitulation was only a question of time. General Todleben, who had fortified Sebastopol in the Crimean war, took charge of the siege. Skobelev and Gourko cut off all communication. The Roumanians, who had declared themselves independent and had joined the Russians with 60,000 men, performed prodigies of valor. By a general sortie Osman Pasha tried to break through the iron circle, but was forced to surrender with 43,000 soldiers (December 10). The siege had lasted almost four months. The Sultan now wished to treat for peace, but was persuaded by the British ambassador, Sir Austin Layard, to continue the war. Souleïman Pasha replaced Mehemet Ali Pasha and gained a tardy victory at Elena (November 20).

The famous Turkish quadrilateral of Silistria, Roustchouk, Shoumla and Varna was still intact. Already the mountain passes were blocked with snow. An unusually severe season had begun. The Turks supposed that hostilities would cease until spring. The Grand Duke Nicholas ordered General Gourko to force the Balkans. Then followed a magnificent winter campaign along ravines and precipices, where the soldiers themselves dragged the cannon. The astounded Turks were everywhere defeated.

Sofia, the Bulgarian capital, which had not seen a Christian army for 400 years, was entered (January 3, 1878). Six days later Wessir Pasha surrendered with 32,000 men and sixty-six cannon.

The Ottoman Empire seemed entering its death agony. The Servians had declared war. Thessaly, Macedonia and Albania were in open rebellion. The Cretans were tumultuously demanding union with Greece. The Greek army crossed the frontier. The Montenegrins captured fortress after fortress in the west. The Russians effected their junction at Adrianople (January 20) and reached the Marmora on January 31. That same day an armistice was signed at Adrianople. It was time. To oppose the advance of the invaders the Sultan had only a corps of 12,000 men, camped on the hills of Tchataldja, an easy day's march from the capital.

The rapid Russian successes produced intense excitement in Great Britain. The government made vigorous preparations for war. The British fleet passed the Dardanelles and anchored close to Constantinople (February 14). Thereupon the Grand Duke Nicholas advanced to San Stephano, seven miles from the city walls.

On March 3 the Russian and Ottoman plenipotentiaries signed the preliminary treaty of San Stephano. It recognized the independence of both Roumania and Servia. The latter was enlarged by the district of Nisch. The former received the Dobroudja in exchange for Bessarabia, which was restored to Russia as before the Crimean war. Montenegro gained the ports of Spizza and Antivari on the Adriatic and more than doubled its territory. In Asia Russia was confirmed in the possession of the eastern quadrilateral, Kars, Ardahan, Bayezid and Batoum. The Turks were condemned to pay a war indemnity of 300,000,000 roubles. Bulgaria was created a vassal principality of the Sultan. It was to extend from the Danube to the Ægean Sea, thus cutting in twain the still remaining Turkish possessions in Europe. Never had the Ottoman Empire signed a treaty as fatal.

The Congress of Berlin (1878). — The preliminary treaty of San Stephano terrified Austria, who saw aggrandized Slavic states on her southwest frontier neighboring upon her own Slavic peoples. It enraged Great Britain, who saw in it the practical extinction of the Ottoman Empire. But

Austria was held in check by Germany. Great Britain, though unable to put a large army into the field, employed every weapon known to diplomacy. Russia was neither desirous of nor prepared for further war. After much negotiation with the courts of Great Britain and Germany, she agreed to submit the treaty to a congress of the Powers at Berlin. A secret agreement however had just been arrived at for their two governments by Count Schouvaloff and Lord Salisbury.

The congress opened on June 13 and continued in session just one month. The nations were represented by their ablest and most illustrious statesmen. Among the delegates were Count Andrassy, Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Monsieur Waddington from France, Count Corti from Italy, Mehemet Ali Pasha and Caratheodoridi Pasha from Turkey, Lord Salisbury from Great Britain and Count Schouvaloff from Russia. The three most conspicuous figures were Prince Bismarck, who presided, Prince Gortschakoff, chancellor of Russia, and Lord Beaconsfield, prime minister of Great Britain.

The treaty of Berlin much reduced the size of the proposed Bulgaria. It also divided it in two: "Principality of Bulgaria," between the Danube and the Balkans, an autonomous state tributary to the Sultan; "Province of Eastern Roumelia," extending south of the Balkans halfway to the Ægean Sea. The latter, though under a Christian governor, was to depend directly upon the Sultan. The independence of Roumania and Servia was recognized, but, as in the case of the always independent Montenegro, their proposed acquisitions were diminished. Bosnia and Herzegovina were assigned to Austria. The wish was expressed, though not inserted in the treaty, that the Sultan make certain concessions of territory to the Greeks. As to the Christian subjects of the Sultan, the congress contented itself with a repetition of his familiar promises to introduce reforms. In Asia Khotour was ceded to Persia, and the Russians restored Bayezid to Turkey, though retaining Kars, Batoum and Ardahan.

During the session the revelation was made of a secret treaty for defensive alliance between Great Britain and Turkey, which had been concluded on the preceding 4th of June. In this secret treaty Great Britain agreed to unite in arms with the Sultan in defense of the Ottoman Empire

in case it should ever be attacked by Russia. In return the Sultan promised to assign the island of Cyprus to Great Britain and to introduce the necessary reforms in the treatment of his Christian subjects — such reforms to be determined later by the two Powers.

The congress of Berlin, not only in the very fact of its existence but in its decisions, was a diplomatic defeat for Russia. Her main object, the deliverance of Bulgaria, was indeed attained, but this Bulgaria was torn asunder and shorn of its strength. Great Britain and Austria without fighting had gained: the one, Cyprus and preponderance in Asia Minor; and the other, Bosnia and Herzegovina, advancement on the road to Salonica and hence direct influence over Montenegro and Servia. The Turkish Empire had been rescued from destruction, its existence prolonged and further opportunity afforded for future outrage and massacre. For Beaconsfield and Great Britain that congress was a striking but none the less a deplorable triumph.

The Nihilists. — The reforms after the accession of Alexander II had come upon the people like a galvanic shock. However warmly, though vaguely, desired, their application caused everywhere dissatisfaction. The ingrained despotic system had vitiated every activity of life. The serfs were dissatisfied because they had not gained more. The nobles were sullen because, when dispossessed of their serfs, their revenues were curtailed. The hosts of students from the humbler classes, attracted by scholarships or purses to the universities and newly opened colleges, found on completion of their studies that all the civil and official positions were already occupied by the privileged and themselves shut out. Everywhere there was discontent, like morbid soreness of the body ready to propagate political disease.

The irresolute Tsar was discouraged. Some proposed reforms he withheld and others he partially withdrew. The government tried to relax and tighten the reins at the same time. Reaction set in, and the counter reaction was nihilism. Russian nihilism could resemble the mad vagaries of no other country, for it was stamped with the peculiarities of the Russian mind. Though the nihilist considered Russia diseased, he looked upon all other lands as equally or still more rotten. In Russia he saw nothing worth the keeping, and in the rest of the world he saw nothing worth the taking. Some of the nihilists were theorists and

dreamers. Others, the more daring and dangerous, were revolutionists. Their ranks were recruited by men and women from the universities, who were maddened by enforced idleness and poverty and social wrongs. Never numerous, their almost inhuman activity multiplied their numbers in common opinion. Their contempt for death gave them horrible efficiency. Tracked and hunted like wild beasts, they surpassed wild beasts in merciless ferocity. For years Russia was mined and countermined by them and their terrible antagonists, the secret police of the dreaded third section.

Assassinations and attempts at assassination followed fast. Matvéeff, rector of the university of Kiev, Mezentseff, chief of the third section, Prince Krapotkine, governor of Kharkof, Colonel Knoop at Odessa, Captain Reinstein at Moscow, Pietrovski, chief of police at Archangel, and scores of prominent persons were stabbed or shot. An attempt was made to blow up the imperial family with dynamite at the winter palace (1880). The explosion killed sixty soldiers and wounded forty. The Tsarina died in June, 1880. The nihilists matured their plans to blow up the bridge over which the funeral cortege was to pass and destroy the imperial hearse with all the mourners, the foreign princes and guards. A sudden storm so swelled the waters of the Neva as to prevent the execution of the plot.

On December 4, 1879, the Nihilist Executive Committee sent the Tsar his sentence of death, but for a long time every effort to put it in execution failed. In February, 1881, he submitted the scheme of a constitution to a council. On March 9 he gave the elaborated form his approval, but, hesitating still, delayed its proclamation. On the morning of March 13 he sent the order for its publication in the official messenger. That afternoon, while riding, a bomb was thrown against his carriage. Many soldiers and pedestrians were killed, but the emperor was unharmed. "Let me see the wounded," he exclaimed, and sprang from his carriage. Instantly a second bomb was thrown at him. Horribly mutilated, he was borne to his palace, where he expired without uttering a word.

In 1861 he had emancipated the serfs. In 1878 he had freed Bulgaria. At the moment of his death the Constitution which he had granted was being set in type. It is a strange and sad coincidence that the two liberators, the

president who freed the slaves in the United States and the Tsar who freed the serfs in Russia, should both perish by the hand of an assassin.

Reign of Alexander III (1881-1894). — Alexander III had to choose between two roads. Should he follow the progressive policy of his father and confirm the still unpublished constitution, or should he set his face backward and reign like Nicholas I? "Change none of my father's orders," he said at first. "It" — the Constitution — "shall be his last will and testament." Unhappily for Russia such sentiments did not last. In Pobiédonostseff, High Procurator of the Holy Synod, a reactionary fanatic of spotless integrity, and the Slavophil, General Ignatieff, he found congenial counsellors. The Constitution was withheld. The temperate and humane General Melikoff, the trusted friend of his father, tendered his resignation. General Ignatieff was made Minister of the Interior.

The day of absolutism, espionage and Russification by force had come back. The government endeavored in domestic affairs to undo all that Alexander II had done. Hatred of everything foreign was the mode. Katkoff, the violent editor of the *Moscow Gazette*, was allowed the utmost latitude, because he so fully expressed all the dynastic and popular passions of the hour. Never was Russian intolerance manifested in more annoying ways and with greater severity. The treatment of the Jews was a disgrace to humanity. They were forbidden to own or lease land or to exercise any liberal profession. They were ordered to concentrate in a few western provinces so as to be more easily watched. More than 300,000 emigrated. The government was no more cruel than the people. In Balta the peasants without provocation sacked 976 Jewish houses and killed or wounded 219 Jews. The Lutherans and Dissenters were treated unmercifully. At last even General Ignatieff was shocked or alarmed, and proposed moderation.

Prince Gortschakoff, at the age of eighty-two, asked to be relieved from his duties as chancellor (1882). As his successor the war party desired General Ignatieff, the peace party M. de Giers. Despite its antipathy for Europe, the foreign policy of the government was pacific. M. de Giers was appointed. His rival, in chagrin, withdrew to private life. Count Tolstoï was made Minister of the Interior and under him the anti-Semitic agitation was sternly repressed.

Improvement in the public finances, brought about by Vichnegradzy, the Minister of Finance, is almost the only alleviation in this dismal reign.

The nihilists, boastful of their success in "removing" a Tsar, continued their work. They held Russia in such terrorism that the coronation of Alexander III had been postponed almost two years. The Tsar had distinguished himself as a soldier in the Russo-Turkish war, but his life on the throne was passed in constant fear of assassination. Immediately on accession he had appointed his brother, Vladimir, to serve as regent in case of necessity. Ceaseless watchfulness and dread sapped his strength. The long illness from which he finally died (October 31, 1894) was largely due to the incessant attempts of the nihilists upon his life.

Nicholas II (1894-).—Though at first apparently desirous of following in his father's steps, he soon showed himself awake to the spirit of the age. On November 27 at St. Petersburg he married the Princess Alix of Hesse, granddaughter of Queen Victoria. All the troops and police were withdrawn from the streets. The people were allowed without restraint to climb the lamp-posts and trees and crowd the windows along the route of the bridal procession. Such freedom on such an occasion had never been known in Russia. This manifest confidence in his subjects made a profound impression and won him immense popularity. In the formal visits of the imperial consorts to different parts of the empire the same shrewd etiquette of confidence has been followed.

On the death of M. de Giers (January, 1895), who had been the real director of Russian foreign policy since the treaty of Berlin, Prince Lobanoff became Minister of Foreign Affairs and proved himself equally pacific. The serious Pamir difficulty as to the boundary between the British and Russian Asiatic possessions was settled in a manner honorable to both countries.

The splendor of the coronation ceremonies at Moscow (May 20, 1896) was darkened by a terrible catastrophe. Over 400,000 people had crowded together on the Khodynskoye plain to feast as guests of the Tsar. Insufficient police were present to control the immense mass. In the crush over 3000 persons were suffocated or trampled to death. In his coronation manifesto the Tsar announced

that the land tax was diminished one-half and that a comprehensive amnesty had been granted to political offenders. Soon afterward Nicholas II and the Tsarina visited Austria-Hungary, Great Britain, France and Germany.

In 1897 the Tsar was received with enthusiasm at Warsaw. As a token of his appreciation he granted permission for the erection of a statue to Mickievitch, the patriot poet whose songs had inspired the Poles in their former resistance to Russia. In the same year for the first time a general census of the empire was undertaken.

The present of Russia is full of hope. A more enlightened spirit is making its way among the government and people. Nihilism for a time at least is silent or has disappeared. Slowly, but none the less surely, the condition of the serfs is improving. The energies of the country are concentrating in industrial and commercial channels and its limitless natural resources being utilized.

With progress at home is coupled a parallel advance of Russian influence abroad. To-day that influence in a striking manner is being exerted in behalf of the world's tranquillity and peace. On August 28, 1898, the Russian government communicated to the courts of Europe one of the most memorable State papers ever issued. This document in graphic language set forth the terrible burden imposed by the existence of vast standing armies and by national rivalry in military armaments. It deplored the waste of men and material resources, consequent on this unnatural condition of affairs. It declared that "the supreme duty to-day imposed upon all States" is "to put an end to these incessant armaments and to seek the means of warding off the calamities which are threatening the whole world." In dignified terms, such as a mighty empire dreading no superior alone could use, it proposed a conference of all the Powers "to occupy itself with this grave problem of universal peace." Whatever the outcome of the conference, the proposition is a blessed augury for the twentieth century.

XI

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The **Hatti Sherif of Ghul Khaneh** (1839). — Two days after the battle of Nezib, while the victorious Egyptians were marching upon Constantinople, Sultan Mahmoud died. Only the interference of the European powers checked their advance and preserved the throne to his son, Sultan Abd-ul Medjid. Though failing in almost every enterprise he undertook, Mahmoud had made earnest efforts to reform the empire. His successor inherited his ideas. At the summer palace of Ghul Khaneh, in the presence of the foreign diplomatic body, of the heads of the various subject churches, of deputations from all the guilds, and of the great dignitaries, ecclesiastical, military and civil, of the Ottoman state, his Hatti Sherif, or Sacred Proclamation, was read by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Reshid Pasha (November 3, 1839). Everything was done to give solemnity and a binding character to this rescript. It concluded with a prayer and an imprecation, and the vast assembly of Moslems, Christians and Jews responded "Amen."

This was the first formal acknowledgment of abuses and the first official declaration of a purpose to reform that was ever made by an Ottoman sovereign. It guaranteed security of life, property and honor to all subjects of the empire, a uniform and just taxation and uniformity in conscription and military service. It suppressed monopolies, pronounced that all court trials be public, removed restrictions from the sale and purchase of real estate, and ordered that the property of criminals be no longer confiscated but handed over to their natural heirs. These measures were aimed at correcting those violations of justice from which Christians and Mussulmans suffered in common. Its most important provision declared that henceforth Mussulman and Christian subjects should be equal before the law. Hitherto the theory and practice since the foundation of the empire had been flagrant inequality between the adhe-

rents of the two religions. For example, the testimony of a Christian was not admissible in court against a Mussulman. A Christian could only hire Mussulman witnesses, who were allowed to testify for him.

The Christians regarded the Hatti Sherif with mixed hope and incredulity. It enraged the Mussulmans, who believed that equality between them and the *giaours* was a contradiction of the Koran as well as of all their past history. But in Christian Europe, accustomed to see promises followed by deeds, it caused a profound and favorable impression.

Massacres in the Lebanon (1845).—The Sultan, well meaning but feeble, made only desultory efforts to put his proclamation into effect. In most localities it remained a dead letter. In others it stirred up the Moslems to prove that there had been no change in the old order. The region of Lebanon was inhabited by many religious sects. Among the more powerful were the Catholic Maronites, who enjoyed the protection of France, and the Druses, a wild tribe of heretical Mussulmans, followers of the mad Caliph Hakim. Under their leader, the Sheik Abou Naked, the Druses made a sudden attack. His followers had strict orders to harm only the Catholics, for then as always there was method in a Mussulman massacre. Every conceivable horror marked the passage of the bandit chief. He spared neither sex nor age. The government forbade the Maronites to defend themselves, but told them to trust in the padishah. The Turkish soldiers, sent to preserve order, remained inactive or openly sided with the Druses. The French missionary stations were destroyed, their churches and convents sacked and priests murdered. M. Guizot, then prime minister of France, dared not interfere. The French ambassador at Constantinople, M. de Bourqueney, was bolder. He sent a peremptory message to the Porte. The massacres ceased. New measures for the administration of the Lebanon were introduced and a degree of tranquillity was restored.

Question of the Holy Places. The Crimean War (1853-1856).—This subject has been sufficiently discussed in the chapters on the second French empire and Russia. Save at its beginning the Turks played an insignificant and humiliating part in the war. Their assistance seemed as much disdained by the British and French troops as their

resistance had been by the Russians. Before the arrival of their allies the Ottoman commander-in-chief, Omar Pasha, a Christian renegade, had shown ability on the Danube. The successful defence of Silistria, where six assaults of the Russian army were repulsed, was honorable to Turkish arms. In signing the offensive and defensive treaty with Great Britain and France, the Porte promised to accomplish the following reforms: "Equality before the law and eligibility to all offices of all Ottoman subjects without distinction of religion; admission of Christian testimony in court; establishment of mixed tribunals; abolition of the *kharadj* or exemption tax."

The Hatti Humayoun (1856).—The Hatti Sherif of Ghul Khaneh had proved abortive. The abyss still yawned unbridged between the Mussulmans and the Christians. Language can hardly set forth the sense of superiority among the former. The *cadi* of Mardin in 1855 gave a permit for the interment of a Christian in the following words: "Permission to the priest of Mary to bury the impure and offensive carcass of Saidah, who went to hell this very day. Signed, Saïd Mehemed Faize." In its language and its sentiment toward their subjects, this paper was typical of the ruling race. A Hatti Humayoun, or Imperial Proclamation, was issued on February 18, 1856. It reaffirmed and extended all the glittering generalities of the Hatti Sherif. It forbade all distinction between the followers of the two religions. All Christian subjects had hitherto been excluded from the ranks. It now opened to them not only military service, but attainment of the highest grades. To this provision Mussulmans and Christians united in opposition. The former were unwilling to obey officers of the subject Christian nationalities or to serve with them in the troops. The latter preferred still to pay the exemption tax and had no wish to fight for a government they abhorred.

Massacres at Djeddah (1858) and in Syria (1860). European Intervention.—It is a peculiar fact that the Crimean War stimulated the hatred of the Turks for all foreign Christians, for the British and French even more than for the Russians. Their pride was stung on seeing the crushing superiority in the civilization and power of the Western nations. This sullen hatred was diffused throughout the empire and grew all the more intense, because they realized

that those detested foreign Christians looked on them with contempt.

At Djeddah, in Arabia (July 15, 1858), the wild exhortations of some dervishes excited a crowd of pilgrims to attack the foreigners. The consul of France and vice-consul of Great Britain were massacred while trying to protect their countrymen. The bombardment of the city by an Anglo-French squadron (July 25) and the hanging of ten of the murderers made only a slight impression.

An explosion followed on a larger scale in Syria. The Druses, though comparatively quiet since 1845, were no less envenomed against the Christians. Khourshid Pasha, governor-general of Beïrout, and Achmet Pasha, commander of the army of Arabistan, encouraged them to action. Speedily (May, 1860) the Lebanon and the neighboring country were drenched with blood. Greed and lust multiplied the bands of the fanatics. With every attendant horror entire villages were blotted out. The Bedouins of the desert joined hands with the Druses of the mountain. Damascus was as sanguinary as the Lebanon. Only the British and Prussian consulates were respected. The Ottoman troops were not behind in murder and pillage. It is impossible to tell how many thousands were slain or died of exposure. The Emir Abd-el-Kader, who for sixteen years had defended his country of Algeria against the French, was then living in Damascus. At peril of his life, with a band of followers, he protected as many Christian fugitives as he could and lavished his resources in their support.

Europe shuddered at these atrocities. Lord Palmerston denounced them in Parliament. By a convention between Great Britain and France, which the Porte was obliged to approve, 6000 French troops were sent to Syria. They were potent arguments in favor of justice and order. Fuad Pasha, Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs, was given full authority to punish the criminals. Marshal Achmet Pasha was tried and shot. Khourshid Pasha was condemned to prison. Eighty-five Mussulmans on conviction were put to death. Such interference was effectual. The Lebanon became, and has continued to be, one of the most orderly and peaceful provinces of the empire. By decision of the great Powers it has since been ruled by a Christian governor. The French corps of occupation returned home in 1861.

Sultan Abd-ul Aziz (1861-1876). — Sultan Abd-ul Medjid died in June, 1861. His reign of twenty-two years was filled with good intentions without accomplishment. His brother, Sultan Abd-ul Aziz, who succeeded, was of stronger fibre. But kept in extreme seclusion, constantly under watch, he was as ignorant as a child of what went on in the Ottoman Empire or the outer world. On his accession he repeated all the customary glowing promises of reform. More extravagant even than his brother, his prodigality bordered on madness. Enormous sums were squandered in erecting palaces, of which he often tired before they were complete. His harem of 900 women was served by 3000 attendants. Moustapha Fazyl Pasha, accountant general, in an interview with the Sultan hinted at the danger of national bankruptcy. He was exiled for his rashness. The machinery of government was kept in motion by two capable men, Fuad Pasha and Ali Pasha. The latter was one of the ablest statesmen Turkey ever produced. Strictly honest, inaccessible to a bribe, he was moreover a tireless worker. Provincial rebellions and petty wars kept him constantly busy.

The Insurrection of Crete (1866-1868). — During the last sixty years insurrection was the chronic condition of Crete. In 1866, as before in 1821, in 1841 and 1858, it assumed a more general and threatening form. Never were the 200,000 Christians, who formed two-thirds of the population, more cruelly and more unjustly governed. Their complaints to Constantinople against their inhuman governor, Ismail Pasha, had only called out vague promises of improvement and a stern menace that they must submit to the officers of the Sultan. The Cretans got together a general assembly which declared them independent and pronounced for union with Greece. In the mountains of Sphakia, the western part of the island which never had been thoroughly subdued, they carried on a guerilla war. They routed detachment after detachment sent against them, forced the capitulation of Ismail Pasha and destroyed another Turkish division at Selino. Kiritli Pasha was sent as a dictator with 40,000 men. He fared no better, nor did Omar Pasha, the Turkish generalissimo, who replaced him. France, Italy, Prussia and Russia proposed the appointment of an international commission to administer the island. Great Britain and Austria opposed the proposition, and it was

rejected by the Sultan. War seemed imminent between Turkey and Greece, but the latter power was kept from action by France and Great Britain. From America generous sums were sent to relieve the distress among the Cretan refugees, but Europe looked on in general apathy. By the employment of all its resources the Ottoman Empire at last quieted the insurrection for a time. At the convent of Arcadion the Cretans made their final stand. As the Turks crossed the last trench over the bodies of its last defenders, the Cretan women set fire to the powder in the vaults and blew up themselves and their conquerors.

Opening of the Suez Canal (November 17, 1869). — This year the great enterprise of M. de Lesseps, though still incomplete, was so far advanced as to be passable by ships. Its various stages of construction had already occupied twenty years. By connecting the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, it converted Africa into the vastest of the island continents. In prolonging its entire length 100 miles, over 80,000,000 cubic yards of earth and rock had been removed. On it had been expended about \$95,000,000. The only share of Turkey in the achievement was found in the fact that Ismaïl Pasha, viceroy of Egypt and the earnest promoter of the enterprise, was a vassal of the Sultan. At the formal opening almost all the maritime nations were represented by warships, which passed through the canal in an imposing and memorable procession. The occasion was honored by the presence of European sovereigns, among them Empress Eugénie and the emperor of Austria-Hungary.

Foreign Loans and Bankruptcy. — In 1854, during the exigencies of the Crimean War, the government obtained a foreign loan of £5,000,000. The next year it borrowed a like amount. Almost to its surprise it found foreign capitalists not only willing but desirous to advance their money in return for its promise to pay. With that thoughtlessness of the morrow which characterizes the Ottoman, it was of all others the easiest and most agreeable way to obtain a revenue. By March, 1865, the entire public debt amounted to about £36,700,000.

Within the next ten years the total of foreign indebtedness had grown to nearly if not quite £230,000,000. That is, it had increased in the proportion of about £20,000,000 a year! To show for it there were only a few elegant but

useless edifices here and there and a fleet of equally useless ironclads, always anchored in a majestic semi-circle along the Bosphorus in front of the palace of the Sultan, not for his protection but for his amusement. It is impossible to describe the levity with which those enormous sums had been squandered. When the daughter of Sultan Abd-ul Medjid was married to Ali Galib Pasha, over \$7,000,000 were expended on the trousseau of the bride.

The day of reckoning came in less than a quarter of a century after that first loan of 1854. Up to 1875 the interest had always been promptly paid, even if a new loan was necessary to obtain the funds. At last even the interest could no longer be provided for. On October 6, 1875, the grand vizir, Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, announced that the state was bankrupt. He considered himself in no small degree justified for partial repudiation by the fact that the nominal sums had by no means been received, the later loans especially being effected at ruinous rates, and that the interest already paid on certain loans was larger than the original amount.

Death of Sultan Abd-ul Aziz. — The troubles in Herzegovina (1875), the massacres in Bulgaria (1875), and the war with Montenegro and Servia (1876-1877) make the last years in the reign of Sultan Abd-ul Aziz to be long remembered. Ali Pasha, Fuad Pasha, General Omar Pasha, all his tried statesmen and supporters, were dead. The grand vizir, Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, was the creature of General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador. The empire was in a condition hardly better than anarchy from one end to the other. The long patience, even of the Mussulmans, was exhausted. The softas or theological students terrified the Sultan into the appointment of ministers of their choice. A few days later the Sheik-ul-Islam gave a fetva approving his deposition. Midhat Pasha, an energetic man whose government of several provinces had been signalized by violent reforms, headed a conspiracy. The Sultan was quietly dethroned (May 24, 1876). A few days later he was found dead. The court physicians declared he had committed suicide.

He visited the International Exposition at Paris in 1867, being the only Ottoman sovereign who in peaceful fashion had set foot in a foreign country. But he learned nothing in his travels and brought back only added aversion

to Western ways. His one success was in humbling the viceroy of Egypt, his vassal, on whom he had previously bestowed the almost regal title of khedive. He compelled him to reduce his army, surrender his ironclads and abstain from exercising the attributes of sovereignty. It had been his lifelong ambition to assure the succession to his son, Yusuf Izeddin, thus setting aside the Ottoman custom, which vests the inheritance in the oldest member of a dynasty and not in direct descent. By his deposition all his careful plans were brought to naught. His nephew, Sultan Mourad V, was at once proclaimed. The excitement caused by the tragic death of his uncle and by the assassination of some of his ministers at a cabinet meeting unsettled his reason. He was removed by the sultan-maker, Midhat Pasha, and his brother, Sultan Abd-ul Hamid II, reigned in his stead.

The Reign of Sultan Abd-ul Hamid II (1876-1898). — No other Sultan in the Mosque of Eyoub ever girded on the sword of Osman — the Turkish equivalent of coronation — in national conditions so appalling.

Rebellion was rampant in Bosnia and Herzegovina and imminent in Arabia. Montenegro and Servia had declared war and the Turks believed that Europe, and certainly Russia, were about to do the same. The horrors of Bulgarian massacres had shocked and for a time alienated the empire's most persistent friends. The civil and military service was everywhere in utter confusion. The prodigality of preceding reigns had impoverished the people and brought on bankruptcy, which made further foreign loans impossible. There was no money to pay the troops. The ironclads could not move for lack of coal. The young Turkey party, composed largely of Moslems who had lived abroad, not numerous but noisy, demanded thorough renovation of the empire. The vast majority of the Mussulmans, as bigoted as they were ignorant, denounced even the pretence of reform. To them Sultan Mahmoud and Sultan Abd-ul Medjid were little better than giaours. In their judgment the abandonment by recent Sultans of the principles and practice of early days was wholly responsible for national decline. Their fierce fanaticism was as dangerous as foreign attack. Partisans of the dead Abd-ul Aziz were plotting to enthrone his son, Yusuf Izeddin. Partisans of the crazy Mourad were plotting his restoration. Midhat had deposed two sultans. Two dethronements in four months had made the idea of

revolution grimly familiar. What Midhat Pasha had done twice he was capable of doing again. When Abd-ul Hamid ascended the throne in 1876 it was a common belief that he would not occupy it a year.

In December the formal conference of ambassadors opened at Constantinople. The Ottomans were not allowed representation at the sessions. The very day the delegates assembled salvos of artillery hailed the proclamation of a Constitution by the Sultan. This Constitution was most comprehensive and liberal. It was based upon the equality of all men and the sanctity of individual rights. It introduced the representative system. There was to be a senate, named for life by the Sultan, and a chamber of deputies, holding office for four years. The system of election was by universal suffrage and ballot. There was to be one deputy for every 50,000 Ottoman "citizens."

The Turks met the memorandum containing the definite propositions of the conference by counter propositions and pointed as a guarantee to their newly granted Constitution. "Few countries enjoy such a constitution as ours," said Midhat Pasha gravely to the ambassadors. The success of Turkish diplomacy during this century has been due to a simple and invariable policy. In any emergency by specious promises it has sought to gain time, and the time thus gained it has utilized in playing off the Powers against one another. The conference formulated an ultimatum. Midhat Pasha submitted this ultimatum to a national assembly of 180 Mussulman and sixty Christian notables. Only the one delegate, the head of the native Protestant community, dared vote for its acceptance. The other notables declared that it was contrary to the Ottoman Constitution and must hence be refused. Then the ambassadors quitted Constantinople, but dissensions had arisen among them and they were not in harmony as to the ultimatum they had proposed. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 and its consequences are described in the chapter on Russia.

The conclusion of the war did not bring internal peace to the broken empire. Soon the Albanians rebelled and murdered Mehemet Ali Pasha, who had been sent to make amicable arrangements with them (1881). The Arabs, who had always looked down on their Turkish masters and lost no opportunity to weaken their authority, gave constant trouble and were subdued at great cost. For a moment, on

the occupation of Egypt by the British (1882), the Sultan was on the point of declaring war against Great Britain, but more prudent counsels prevailed. The Armenian massacres of 1894-1896, rivalling the atrocities of the time of the Greek revolution and exceeding in horror the massacres in Syria and Bulgaria, roused the indignation of the civilized world. But this time no foreign nation was ready to do more than exchange diplomatic notes and employ diplomatic pressure. The promises of 1868 to Crete were habitually ignored. The Cretan insurrections of 1877, 1885, 1887 and 1889 were succeeded by what seemed a life-and-death struggle in 1895 and 1896. Again the government promised reforms, forwarded a specious programme and appointed a Christian governor. The Cretans despised pledges which had been violated so often and demanded annexation to Greece. The Greek government sent Prince George with a torpedo flotilla and Colonel Vassos with 1500 troops to the assistance of their brethren (February, 1897). Now a real concert of Europe was brought about, not to restrain despotism, but to crush men fighting for liberty. The iron-clads of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Russia blockaded Crete, landed a force of 3600 men and bombarded the insurgents who had gained control of almost the whole island. The war of 1897 between Greece and Turkey was the result.

At first Sultan Abd-ul Hamid II was only a phantom upon the throne. Were he really to reign, it was necessary to break the virtual dictatorship of Midhat Pasha, who was a tool of Great Britain as Mahmoud Nedim Pasha had been of Russia. Reports, skilfully put in circulation, and the arrogant bearing of the Pasha, sapped his popularity. Suddenly arrested at midnight (February, 1877) he was obliged to give up the seals of office and go at once into exile. Later on he was recalled and made governor of Smyrna. Accused of the murder of Sultan Abd-ul Aziz, he was tried and convicted. The sentence of death was remitted and he was banished to Arabia, where he died. All the men who had conspired against Sultan Abd-ul Aziz and Sultan Mourad V and all the prominent partisans of those sovereigns were gradually stripped of power. The Sultan took the entire administration upon himself. By a revolution, as silent as it was slow and effectual, all real authority was removed from the grand vizier and centred in

his own hands. The palace superseded the Porte. The cabinet officers became hardly more than the Sultan's secretaries, the two essentials for their continuance in office being ability and subservience. Professing no admiration for European institutions, he emphasized his headship of the Moslems as their caliph. The most personal of personal governments ruled and still rules at Yildiz Kiosk. But inherent in it are all the radical and fatal evils of absolutism.

"Laborious but ill-informed," the Sultan, though shutting himself in Oriental seclusion, has been successful in controlling or outwitting the foreign ambassadors who were in the habit of domineering over his predecessors. For a few years he seemed to incline to France; then to Great Britain during the days when Lord Dufferin and Sir William White were British ambassadors; since 1891 to Russia. The example of frugality and economy, set by the Sultan, is in marked contrast to all past Ottoman history. Reorganized by German officers, the efficiency of the army has been greatly increased. The Ottoman Empire is to-day stronger and more formidable, despite its loss of territory, than it has been at any time since the battle of Navarino, seventy-one years ago. But the Ottoman parliament ended its brief existence with its second session (1880) and there is little discussion of "reforms."

XII

THE BALKAN STATES

(1848-1898)

The Five States, Roumania, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece. — These have all been carved during the present century out of the Ottoman Empire. Montenegro indeed always asserted her independence, but was none the less reckoned a subject territory by the Sultan. Greece achieved national existence by the revolution which began in 1821 and lasted seven years. In 1848 the three other states were in different stages of subjection. Bulgaria was hardly more than a tradition. Her boundaries had been blotted out and her people utterly reduced when she was added to other Ottoman conquests in the fourteenth century. Serbia was an autonomous province, with a native prince, but paying tribute and kept in check by Turkish garrisons. Roumania is the present name of what was then the two provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, including all the Turkish possessions north of the Danube. All five were adherents of the Eastern Orthodox, or Greek Church, but were of different races. The Roumanians were the mixed descendants of Dacians and Romans, the Greeks were Hellenic, and the Montenegrins, Servians and Bulgarians were Slavs. Thus there were three ethnic layers, the northern or Latin, the central or Slavic, and the southern or Greek. Though partakers in the common distress, brought on by the civil and religious despotism under which they lived, they looked on one another with jealousy and aversion rather than sympathy and kindly feeling.

Roumania. — Moldavia and Wallachia, in 1848, were both under the tyrannical rule of hospodars, appointed by the Sultan. The shock of the French Revolution reached even the Black Sea. Both the provinces rose and drove out their governors. The Turks marched in from the south to put down the rebellion, whereupon the Russians entered from

the east. War seemed inevitable between Turkey and Russia. It was averted by the convention of Balta Liman, which stipulated that the hospodars in future should be named for seven years by the Sultan and Tsar conjointly, and that the provinces, while vassals of the Sultan, should enjoy the protection of the Tsar. Tranquillity existed until the Crimean War, after which, by the treaty of Paris, a collective guarantee of the great Powers was substituted for the Russian protectorate, and the provinces reverted to the control of the Sultan. A portion of Russian Bessarabia was annexed to Moldavia, so that the Russian frontier should nowhere touch the Danube.

Disappointed in their hopes of independence, Moldavia and Wallachia were clamorous for union into a single state.

Their desire was encouraged by France and Russia, but opposed by Turkey, Great Britain and Austria, who were unfavorable to any measure tending to increase the strength of the provinces. A plebiscite resulted in an almost unanimous declaration for union. After tedious negotiations, occupying several years, the great Powers agreed that one central committee should be empowered to enact common laws for the two, but that otherwise they should exist apart, each choosing its own provincial assembly and prince. But in 1859 the two elected the same candidate, Colonel Alexander Couza, whom they proclaimed "Alexander I, Prince of Roumania." The Sultan interposed every objection, but finally (1861) recognized him "for life," granting investiture, and receiving the same tribute as before. In 1862 the two provincial assemblies fused in one common national assembly, at Bucharest. Thus, in defiance of diplomacy, union was achieved.

The Roumanian nobles were so many petty despots, while the peasants possessed almost no civil rights. The wealth of the country was in the hands of numerous opulent monasteries. Couza abolished feudal privileges, proclaimed universal suffrage and confiscated the property of the monasteries to the advantage of the state. Thus the nobility and clergy became his deadly foes. The nobles, in return for an indemnity, were obliged to abandon a large part of their lands, which was divided among the peasants. But by declaring tobacco a governmental monopoly he alienated popular support. His beneficent measures were mixed with tyranny. Surprised in his bedchamber by a band of con-

spirators, he was forced to abdicate (February, 1866). Abandoned by all, he went into exile.

The Chambers chose Prince Philip, of Flanders, brother of the king of Belgium, as his successor. On his declination a plebiscite of the whole country elected Prince Charles of Hohenzollern (April 20). A European conference at Paris declared the election void, but Prince Charles was advised by Bismarck to ignore its decisions. Traversing Austria in disguise, he received an enthusiastic welcome at Bucharest (May 22). The Turks had watched the progress of events in Roumania with anxiety, but had always been dissuaded from action. The Powers had likewise confined themselves to formal expressions of dissatisfaction. This time Sultan Abd-ul Aziz determined on war. Omar Pasha massed a formidable army on the Danube. But the victory gained at Sadowa by Prussia, of whom Charles was the protégé, and the troubles in Crete, prevented interference. He was formally recognized as Prince of Roumania by both the Sultan and all Europe (October). His marriage with the Princess of Wied, in 1869, seemed to confirm his dynasty.

On the outbreak of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, Roumania proclaimed herself independent (May 21, 1877). The development of her army had been carefully pursued by her new ruler, and she was able to offer Russia valuable aid. At the siege of Plevna, where Prince Charles was commander-in-chief of the Russian forces, her troops distinguished themselves for gallantry, and materially contributed to the capture of Osman Pasha and his entire command. In 1881 the representatives of the nation declared Roumania a kingdom, under Charles I as king. Disappointed of issue, his nephew, Prince Ferdinand, in 1888, was decreed his successor, with the title of Prince of Roumania. Though Queen Elizabeth had given her husband no heir, her pronounced Roumanian sympathies and popular ways have materially strengthened his throne. Under her pseudonym of "Carmen Sylva," her stories and poems have added to the reputation of Roumania abroad. Save during one brief period of glorious war, the reign of Charles I has been devoted to the peaceful solution of internal questions and to internal progress.

The position of Roumania, midway between Russia and Austria-Hungary, upon the lower Danube, on the road to

Constantinople, has given her a marked strategic importance. To Hungary she is a constant menace. Over 2,500,000 Roumanians are subjects of the Hungarian crown. To reunite them all under one flag is the ambition of "Roumania irredenta."

Montenegro. — In 1848 the name Montenegro, or Czrnagora, was applied to a territory of less than 1500 square miles, a mass of rocky and lofty mountains west of Albania, inhabited by 107,000 human beings. The history of the country has been one long, ferocious heroism. Such of the Servians as would not submit had, after the fatal battle of Kossova (1389), taken refuge in its fastnesses, and there maintained an invincible resistance to the Turks. Their ruler, the vladika, or prince bishop, had the right of appointing his successor, whom he chose from among his nephews. He was aided in administration by a council of twelve persons chosen by himself. On the death in 1851 of Peter II, who had been an able warrior and statesman, his nephew, Danilo, became vladika. In the great charter of 1852 he divested himself of his episcopal functions, asserted his right to marry, and made the succession hereditary. Soon afterwards the Sultan sent Omar Pasha to attack him. Mirko, the elder brother of the prince, in a three months' campaign slew in battle 4500 Turks and captured 900 prisoners. Again attacked in 1858 by vastly superior forces, the Montenegrins gained the decisive battle of Grahova, where more than 3000 Turks were killed. Two years afterwards Danilo was assassinated. Leaving no son, his nephew, Nicholas I, succeeded. Another war with the Turks (1862) was no less honorable to the mountaineers.

Thus far every Montenegrin was an armed volunteer, little susceptible to military discipline and poorly armed. The fourth Turkish war in the space of the last fifty years began in 1876. Everywhere successful, though against desperate odds, the independence of Montenegro was acknowledged by the Sultan in 1878. In the preliminary treaty of San Stephano, Russia obtained such concessions for the heroic little country as would have trebled its territory and doubled its population. Though these gains were largely reduced by the treaty of Berlin, it eventually acquired the port of Dulcigno on the Adriatic, with a seaboard of almost thirty miles.

Prince Nicholas I is still on the throne. During his reign

of thirty-eight years his country has made marked progress in civilization. Himself educated in Europe, he has rendered education compulsory, and carefully encouraged agriculture among his warlike people. The marriage of his daughter, Helena, to the Prince of Naples, the heir of the Italian throne, is supposed to insure Montenegro an ally against Austria-Hungary, who, far more than the Ottoman Empire, is the chief enemy of Montenegrin independence. Since the days of the Tsar Peter, a peculiar attachment has existed between Montenegro and Russia. This attachment has at no time been stronger than to-day.

Servia. — The patriot swineherd, Kara George, gave to a part of Servia a political existence early in the present century. Defeated, he fled from the country, and the insurrection was headed for fifteen years by Milosch Obrenovitch. Worn out by the persistence of the insurgents, Sultan Mahmoud (1830) erected the revolted territory into an autonomous hereditary principality, and appointed Milosch its governor. Kara George returned, but Milosch succeeded in having him assassinated. Since then the feuds of the rival Karageorgevitch and Obrenovitch families have been a main factor in Servian history. Alternately members of the two houses expelled each other from power until 1859, when Alexander Karageorgevitch was a second time deposed and Michael Obrenovitch a second time placed in control. Michael was assassinated in 1868. Alexander in his absence was declared guilty by the criminal court of complicity in the crime.

None the less great progress had been made meanwhile in shaking off the Turkish yoke. During the Cretan troubles of 1867 the Sultan, to propitiate the Servians who threatened to join the Greeks, withdrew his garrison from the citadel of Belgrade. Michael had armed his people and imposed military service on all able-bodied men. He had also endeavored to introduce some civil reforms among his people, and had occasionally convoked the Skoupchtina, or legislative body. His wise measures were well seconded by M. Garashanine, who showed more ability than any minister whom Servia has produced.

Milan, the successor of the murdered ruler, was only fourteen years of age. The regency of three persons, which ministered affairs during his minority, proceeded to promulgate a liberal constitution (1869). While confiding all

ordinary power conjointly to the prince and a Skoupchtina of 120 members, it provided for an extraordinary or great assembly of 480 members in cases of emergency. Prince Milan was declared of age in 1872. Though in consequence of the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878 the independence of Serbia was acknowledged by the Sultan, and the state in 1882 proclaimed itself a kingdom, his reign was filled with disgrace and disaster. Nothing but the intervention of Russia saved Serbia from destruction by the Turks in 1876. But the chief humiliation was received from the hands of the Bulgarians at Slivnitza (1885). This time she was delivered from the consequences of a shameful defeat by the intervention of Austria. The scandalous conduct of the king toward Queen Natalie, who was idolized by the common people, still further increased his unpopularity. Finally he obtained a divorce of questionable validity (1888), which was annulled by both parties in 1894.

The public debt had enormously increased in spite of excessive taxation. Radical measures to propitiate the masses, such as the granting (1888) of a still more democratic constitution than that of 1869, did not allay the universal discontent. The choice seemed to lie between abdication and deposition. Milan chose the former. He appointed a regency and proclaimed his son Alexander, then a boy of twelve (1889).

The young king has shown courage and energy. Before he was seventeen years old he arrested, at his own table, the regents who were to govern during his minority. The next day he declared himself of age and has since held the reins. In the following year, by a coup d'état, he abolished the constitution of 1888 and restored that of 1869. He has also shown a desire for amicable relations with Bulgaria and Montenegro.

Serbia has for more than twenty years been tormented by the ambition to act the rôle of a Slavic Piedmont. But she has presented no Servian Cavour, nor has she shown such qualities in war or peace as to indicate her fitness for leadership. A large portion of old Serbia is still under the Sultan, or included in the principality of Bulgaria. Meanwhile the bitter contentions of the three parties, the radicals, the progressists and the liberals, waste her energies and paralyze her progress.

Bulgaria. — The last fifty years have brought marvellous

changes to Bulgaria. In 1848 there seemed no hope of political resurrection. Nowhere did the Turkish rule press more absolutely and cruelly, yet the diffusion of the Mussulmans all over the country, and its peculiar strategic features, rendered successful revolution unlikely, even if insurrection were attempted. Lost in a mass of nameless rayahs, many Bulgarians were ignorant of their own race and supposed themselves Greeks. Their ancient literature had been destroyed and schools had hardly begun to exist. Nor did they have that strong Eastern bond of union and guarantee of continued national existence which is found in the possession of a national church. Their church had been blotted out, and they were dependent upon the Greek patriarch at Constantinople.

But here and there the people were stirring. Bulgarian revolutionary committees began to be formed across the Danube, in the Roumanian towns of Bucharest and Yassy. The bishops in Bulgaria were almost exclusively Greeks. A determined effort was made to confer their sees upon Bulgarians. The Turkish government was entreated to recognize the Bulgarian Church. After contention lasting twenty years, this project, obstinately fought against by the Greeks, was approved by the Porte (1870). A Bulgarian exarchate was created, but the exarch was required to reside at Constantinople. There had been no change of creed, but the Greek patriarch excommunicated all persons connected with the new religious organization.

Sir Henry Bulwer, the British ambassador, looked with apprehension upon every indication of awakening life which might ultimately weaken the Ottoman government. On his suggestion over 500,000 wild Tartars and Circassians from the Crimea and the Caucasus were quartered in Bulgaria to keep the people in check (1859). Midhat Pasha governed the country four years. Under his stern but enlightened rule roads were constructed, agriculture protected and the general condition improved. But each amelioration only revealed to the Bulgarians how wretched was their lot.

At last came the awful massacres of 1876. It was the time of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian insurrection. The Mussulman government and people were suspicious of the slightest movement of the Christians. Petty outbreaks convinced the panic-stricken grand vizir, Mahmoud Nedim Pasha, that all Bulgaria was rising. He let loose the Cir-

cassians and Bashi Bazouks to plunder and slaughter without restraint. For three months there was a carnival of death in the vain attempt to exterminate a people. Over 20,000 persons were butchered. The consequence was the Russo-Turkish war, in which on many fields Bulgarians fought like heroes. The treaty of San Stephano made Bulgaria a powerful state, stretching from the Danube to the Ægean. The treaty of Berlin greatly reduced its size, and by unnatural division cut it into parts: Bulgaria, north of the Balkans, and Eastern Roumelia on the south. The former, a vassal tributary state, was to elect its own prince, who should be confirmed by the Sultan with the assent of the Powers. The latter was to remain under the Sultan's direct control. He was to appoint over it a Christian governor for a term of five years, with the assent of the Powers.

A Constitution was adopted at Tirnova by an assembly of notables (1879). It provided for a Sobranié, or legislative assembly, elected by popular vote. A voter must be thirty years of age and able to read and write. The prince was to be commander of the army. The ministers named by him were to be responsible to him only. Sophia was made the capital. The election of a prince was entrusted to an extraordinary or Grand Sobranié, which is convened only on special occasions. It chose Prince Alexander, of Battenburg, then an officer in the Prussian army. He took the oath at Tirnova, on July 9, 1879, and the Russian army of occupation evacuated the country one week later.

Thus Bulgaria had arisen from the tomb of centuries, and stood forth a state among the nations with a sovereign and Constitution of her choice. Her people had no experience in the art of self-government, but their patience and practical common sense were to stand them in good stead. There was no proscription of Mussulmans in their midst, despite the vivid memory of recent atrocities.

The overbearing arrogance of the Russians made the Bulgarians forget their great services. Russians crowded the higher offices of civil and military administration and treated the Bulgarians with contempt. The Russian diplomatic agent, M. Hitrovo, acted like a master. The liberals, antagonists of Russia, obtained a large majority in the Sobranié and their leader, M. Zankoff, became prime minister. Prince Alexander, by a coup d'état, suspended the

Constitution (1881) and made the Russian general, Ernroth, prime minister. Two years afterwards he restored it and called Zankoff to power.

By a sudden revolution in eastern Roumelia (September 18, 1885) the governor, Gavril Pasha, was expelled, and the union of the two Bulgarias proclaimed. Great Britain approved the act. It was denounced by Russia, who recalled every Russian officer in the Bulgarian army. Servia looked with a jealous eye on the creation of the Bulgarian principality. Its union with eastern Roumelia roused her to exasperation. Believing the moment opportune, while the troops of her rival were without superior officers, she declared war and crossed the frontier. The Bulgarians rose as one man. Alexander proved himself an able leader. The enemy was hurled back. Then followed the three days' battle of Slivnitza, the most glorious event in modern Bulgarian history. The Servian capital, Belgrade, was rescued from capture only by the intervention of Austria.

A miserable intrigue deposed and exiled the prince the following year. Recalled to the throne, he abdicated soon afterwards (September 7, 1886), through dread of the Tsar Alexander III, who was his personal enemy. The Tsar sent General Kaulbars to win back the friendship of the Bulgarians. The unwise and brutal conduct of the envoy incensed the people, until at last he and all the Russian consular agents withdrew. Finally the Grand Sobranié elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, the grandson of Louis Philippe. Russia was still hostile, so he could obtain recognition neither from the Sultan nor the Powers.

For more than seven years after the deposition of Prince Alexander, M. Stambouloff, first as president of the regency and then as prime minister, was the real ruler. The dominant idea of his policy was the independence of Bulgaria, not only from Turkey, but from the diplomatic interference of Europe, and specially of Russia. His rule was vigorous and despotic, often violent and unjust, but never wavering. His chief success was in securing from the Sultan the appointment of Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia. But he wore out all his early popularity and became intolerable to the prince. An angry letter of resignation, the acceptance of which he did not anticipate, was the means of his fall (May 31, 1894). A year later he was assassinated in the street. Dr. Stoïloff, a highly educated and patriotic states-

man, a typical Bulgarian of the worthiest type, has been prime minister since 1894. Under him difficulties with foreign nations have been smoothed away, the prince has been recognized by the Sultan and the great Powers, and the country has tranquilly gone on in the path of progress.

The principality does not include all the Bulgarians. Many are found on the west and south under the rule of Servia or Turkey. In Macedonia the majority of the inhabitants are Bulgarians, and the ultimate fate of that province is disputed by Bulgaria, Servia and Greece.

Greece. — It was the misfortune of Greece that, after her emancipation from Turkey had been recognized (1830), she was compelled to organize her entire administration in accordance with the exigencies of the great Powers, and with no regard to the wishes of her own people. Though desiring a republican form of government, she was forced to accept a monarchy, and Prince Otho, a Catholic and a Bavarian, was imposed as king (1833). For ten years he ruled as a foreign despot by means of a Bavarian ministry and Bavarian army. There was no legislative assembly and no constitution. On September 15, 1843, a peaceful revolution extorted the promise of a constitution and of a national Chamber, and compelled the retirement of the Bavarian Cabinet and the appointment of Mavrocordatos, a Greek, as prime minister. The Powers did not interfere.

The constitutional assembly met in November. It elected as its president a revolutionary hero, Panoutsos Notaras, then 107 years old. On March 16, 1844, a liberal Constitution received the royal signature. It provided for ministerial responsibility, a Senate named by the king and a Chamber of Deputies, or Boule, elected by universal suffrage.

The restoration of the Byzantine Empire has always been a Greek dream. When the Crimean War broke out, Greek enthusiasm believed the moment of realization near and prepared to attack the Sultan. In consequence a British and French fleet blockaded the Piræus. A sufficient force was sent on shore to overawe Athens. It occupied the country from May, 1854, to February, 1857.

King Otho and his haughty and childless queen, Amelia, had never been liked by the Greeks and grew daily more unpopular. While they were absent on a pleasure trip in the Ægean a general insurrection broke out, the throne was declared vacant and a provisional government appointed

(October, 1862). On their return the royal travellers were not allowed to come on shore and departed at once for Bavaria. Prince Wilhelm of Denmark was elected "King of the Hellenes," nominally by the national assembly, but really by the Powers (1863). If the Greeks were doomed to have a foreign king, no wiser choice could have been made. Great Britain marked her satisfaction by the cession to Greece of the Ionian Islands, which she had held ever since the Napoleonic wars. The marriage of the young sovereign and of the Grand Duchess Olga, niece of the Tsar Alexander II, indicated the good-will of Russia.

George I at once showed himself democratic in his manners and sympathies. The new Constitution of 1864, which received his full approval, was even more liberal than its predecessor of 1844. It abolished the senate and established entire freedom of the press. Parliamentary majorities have ever since determined the composition of the cabinet and the foreign policy. While modern Greece has possessed several statesmen of ability, the two most prominent have been MM. Tricoupis and Delyannis. During the seventeen years subsequent to 1881 they alternated with each other in the premiership, M. Tricoupis being prime minister four times and M. Delyannis three.

The relations of Greece and Turkey have given rise to the most delicate and involved complications. The unsatisfactory and unjust boundaries, assigned after the revolution, left the majority of the Greeks still rayahs of the Sultan. Their blood had been lavished without reward. The bond between these rayahs and their emancipated kinsmen has even grown stronger with time. Every disturbance on the mainland or in the islands has caused a sympathetic outburst among the free Greeks. But European diplomacy has been harder to deal with and more dreaded than the military strength of the Turks.

During the Cretan insurrection of 1866-1868 the Greeks welcomed and cared for more than 50,000 Cretan refugees, and were only prevented by the interference of France and Great Britain from themselves taking up arms in behalf of their brethren. A similar pressure kept them quiet during the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, their army crossing the frontier only after the preliminary treaty of San Stephano had been signed. France, at the Congress of Berlin, urged the claim of Greece to rectify her frontiers, and the signa-

tory powers proposed the assignment to her of all Thessaly and the southern half of Epirus. Turkey skilfully evaded compliance, ceding only a fragment of Epirus and southern Thessaly (1881).

The fifteen following years were in the main peaceful despite the heat of party politics. But ineffectual armaments against Turkey had been costly, and public works, such as the construction of railways and canals, destined to ultimately increase the wealth of the country, had drained its resources and exhausted its credit. Still commerce and agriculture advanced. Whatever change occurred in the general condition was for the better.

Then began the saddest chapter in the story of modern Greece. In Crete the fight for liberty had again burst forth with fury. The again-repeated and familiar promises of reform were laughed at by the insurgents. On February 8, 1897, when almost the whole island was in their possession, they proclaimed its union to Greece. The news came upon the Athenians like a spark upon gunpowder. The king despatched Prince George with a torpedo flotilla to Crete (February 10) and Colonel Vassos with 1500 men (February 14). The Powers protested and occupied Canea, the Cretan capital. Their fleet bombarded the Greeks and Cretans whenever they came in range. In a joint note (March 2) they declared that "in present circumstances" Crete could not be annexed to Greece, but that it should be endowed "with an absolute autonomy" under the suzerainty of the Sultan. This declaration was satisfactory to neither Turk, Greek nor Cretan. More than 40,000 Cretan refugees had fled to the Piræus and excited compassion.

The Greek and Turkish troops approached the Thessalian frontier. Provoked by incursions, Turkey declared war April 17. The vastly superior number of her troops, their splendid discipline and the generalship of their commander, Edhem Pasha, decided the result in a three weeks' campaign. The Crown Prince Constantine, the commander of the Greeks, showed little courage or capacity. His small army, supplied only with enthusiasm, was as badly equipped as it was poorly led. The prime minister, M. Delyannis, resigned. His successor, M. Ralli, sued for peace (May 8). The conditions of the treaty were terrible for the vanquished. Greece was to withdraw her troops from Crete, to pay a war indemnity of \$20,000,000 and to submit her

finances to international control. Her frontier was also to be rectified to Turkish advantage. It was understood that Crete was to enjoy an autonomous government "with reforms."

Thus Greece had staked her existence and been temporarily crushed. In 1854 or 1867 or 1878, or even in 1881, other conditions were more favorable, and she might have succeeded, but in 1897 she was hampered in every way, and the Ottomans given not only a free hand, but moral support by the concert of Europe. Roumania, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Servia, who might also have risen against Turkey, were strictly enjoined to remain neutral, and the two latter states were rendered responsible to prevent outbreak in Macedonia.

Yet it must be remembered that the course of the Powers was determined, partly, indeed, by hostility to Greek ambition, but above all by a common dread of a general European war. No conflagration spreads so fast as successful rebellion. Crete and Greece were sacrificed on the altar of an ignoble peace.

XIII

THE SMALLER EUROPEAN STATES

(1848-1898)

Denmark. — Frederick VII ascended the throne on January 20, 1848. Soon after his accession he granted an autocratic Constitution. The Rigsdag, or Assembly, consisting of an upper and a lower Chamber, was to meet annually, and could not be prorogued till after it had sat two months. The upper Chamber, of sixty-six members, was appointed partly by the sovereign and partly by restricted ballot. The 102 members of the lower Chamber were elected by suffrage, each voter to be thirty years of age and of reputable character. The desire for uniformity led the king to apply the same constitution to Iceland, where the ancient Althing, or General Diet, after existing 870 years, had been abolished in 1800. The Icelanders fretted at the new system, refused to be made a mere royal province and stoutly insisted on maintaining their traditional local laws. After long discussion, most of the demands of the Icelanders were grudgingly granted in 1874.

With Frederick VII, who died in 1863, the Danish dynasty became extinct. Christian IX, of the house of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg, became king. Like his predecessor, he was confronted on his accession by a war over Schleswig and Holstein, which were conquered and held by the allied Prussians and Austrians. The internal history of Denmark has been filled by the struggles of the conservatives and liberals. The former, supported by the privileged classes, are absolutist in tendency and care little for parliamentary government. The liberals, representing the vast majority of the people, wish to make their rights a fact. Its weakness has prevented Denmark from exercising political influence abroad. But the children of no other European sovereign have already occupied or expect to occupy so many thrones. Frederick, the prince

royal, is heir to the crown of Denmark. Prince Wilhelm, under the title of George I, is king of Greece. Princess Alexandra is the wife of the Prince of Wales and in the course of nature will be queen of Great Britain. Princess Marie Dagmar, as the wife of Alexander III, was Tsarina of Russia, and is the mother of the present Tsar Nicholas II.

Sweden and Norway. — These two states, violently thrust together in 1814 after the overthrow of Napoleon, have their separate existence under one crown, each with its own Constitution, ministry, and two Chambers. For foreign affairs, however, there is but one minister, who is usually a Swede. The king resides at Stockholm, which outranks Christiania much as Sweden outranks Norway. In fact, the independence of Norway is nominal rather than real. This position of inferiority rankles in the less populous country, and furnishes the most prominent plank in the platform of the Norwegian radical party. In both countries the system of election is by restricted suffrage. The number of electors qualified to vote for members of even the lower house is in Norway about nine per cent. of the population, and in Sweden only about six per cent.

Oscar I, the son of Charles XIV, better known as Marshal Bernadotte of France, acceded in 1844 and reigned fifteen years. His son, Charles XV, reigned from 1859 to 1872, when he was succeeded by Oscar II, the present sovereign. He is distinguished as a man of learning and an accomplished orator in many languages. The two countries have taken small part in European politics during the last half century. In 1855 they joined the alliance against Russia, the hereditary enemy of Sweden. Instead of subsiding, the anti-Swedish feeling in Norway and partiality for Denmark have grown stronger in the last five years. Nothing but the tact of Oscar II has thus far prevented war between the Norwegians and Swedes.

Switzerland. — Despite diminutive size and small population, Switzerland, in political ideas and institutions, resembles the United States more than does any other foreign country. Its people have had long experience in self-government. Their freedom has been gained by their own heroic efforts and not bestowed by foreigners. Their area, small as it is, has reached its present extent by successive admissions or by annexations of adjacent territory.

The fact that the people are of three nationalities and

languages, and that these three are geographically separate, French in the southwest and west, Italian in the south and German in the rest of the country, is an obstacle to effective union. A further obstacle is found in the second fact of their nearly equal division between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, fifty-nine per cent being adherents of the former communion and forty per cent of the latter. These two religions are also drawn up on geographical lines, the central, or most ancient, and the southern cantons being Catholic, while the western, northern and eastern cantons are Protestant. To these two facts are due most of their domestic troubles and civil wars. Since 1848 there has been no political disturbance of any importance, except a royalist attempt in Neuchâtel to overturn the government, and petty riots in the Italian canton of Ticino.

But until 1848, though there was a Switzerland, there was no Swiss nation. An individual's rights were cantonal and not national. Men were citizens of Berne or Zurich or Uri or some other canton, but not of a common country. The salvation of the state and the assurance of its permanence came with the overthrow of the Sonderbund or Separate League of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, Lucerne, Freiburg and Valais in 1847.

The radical, or national, party had triumphed. They bestowed upon Switzerland the most precious gift in its history, the Constitution of 1848. The men who framed it studied carefully the Constitution of the United States. In view of the difficulties with which they had to deal, there was no other political document which could be of aid. In fact, the fundamental proposition of the Swiss Constitution is a paraphrase of Article X in the Amendments to the American Constitution. The political life of the nation has since been summed up in the application and extension of its organic charter. The Federal Assembly, exercising legislative functions, has taken the place of the ancient powerless Diet. The executive power is centred in a Federal Council of seven members, elected by the Federal Assembly for three years. This Federal Assembly is modelled after the American Congress. It consists of a State Council, wherein two deputies from each canton represent cantonal sovereignty, and of a National Council of one deputy for every 20,000 inhabitants, representing popular sovereignty.

The Swiss president has a minimum of authority, holds office for only one year and cannot be reëlected.

This Constitution has been several times revised, always with a tendency to give more direct participation in affairs to the people. The most important modification is in the extension of the referendum, whereby the impulse to law-making is from below rather than from above, and where the decision as well as the initiative rests in the hands of the voters.

If appropriate laws, industry and material prosperity assure the welfare of a people, it is easy to credit the boast of the Swiss that they are the best governed and the happiest nation in the world.

Belgium. — The successful revolution of 1830 against Holland secured Belgian independence. By the treaty of London (November 15, 1831) Austria, France, Great Britain and Russia guaranteed the neutrality of the new state. The Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha had been already elected king of the Belgians by the National Assembly, and had ascended the throne as Leopold I. But the sovereign of Holland did not recognize accomplished facts until 1839. The constitution of 1831 declared Belgium "a constitutional, representative and hereditary monarchy." Leopold II, the present ruler, succeeded on the death of his father (December 10, 1865).

The foreign history of the country has been confined to apprehension that its integrity might be violated by France or Germany. On the separation of Holland and Belgium, the grand duchy of Luxemburg had been divided. One-third of the territory, the inhabitants of which were mostly Germans, continued to be the grand duchy and was united to Holland by a personal union, the sovereign of that country being acknowledged as the grand duke. It continued however to make part of the German confederation. The remaining two-thirds, inhabited by a French speaking people, were assigned to Belgium. When Louis Napoleon became emperor, the Belgians feared that he would secure the cession of this territory, and perhaps the annexation of their entire kingdom to France. But it was in reference to the grand duchy of Luxemburg that Napoleon carried on his calamitous negotiations with Bismarck after the Prusso-Austrian campaign of 1866. The proposal of Count Beust that the grand duchy should be annexed to Belgium, which,

in turn, should cede certain territory on the south to France, was indignantly rejected by Leopold II. The conference of London (May 11, 1867) decided on the neutrality of the duchy and on the withdrawal of the Prussian garrison which held its capital. The French diplomats assert that Bismarck had previously proposed the incorporation of all Belgium with France. Though Belgium was strictly neutral in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871, she and Holland were both alarmed at the possible rapacity of the conquerors. But there was no interference with either.

By an international conference in 1885, Leopold II was made sovereign of the Congo Free State, which possesses an area of 900,000 square miles and 30,000,000 inhabitants. On August 2, 1889, by a formal will, he bequeathed to Belgium all his sovereign rights over it. By convention the right is recognized to Belgium to annex the state at any time after the year 1900.

Belgium is the most densely populated and, in proportion to its size, the wealthiest country in Europe. Nowhere are political parties more sharply defined and political contests more fierce. For sixty years there has been presented the spectacle of a determined and never intermittent wrestle between the nearly equal forces of the "Catholics" and liberals. The latter are strongest in the great industrial centres and the former in the other parts of the kingdom. By a peculiar compromise, or double victory, in 1893 the principal tenets of both parties were engrafted on the revised Constitution. The liberals secured the suffrage for every citizen twenty-five years of age. Hitherto less than 140,000 persons had been qualified to vote. The Catholics, unwilling to accept the principle of absolute political equality, secured the right of casting two or even three votes to whoever possessed certain educational or property qualifications. Before 1893 in a population of over 6,000,000 less than 140,000 persons were allowed the vote. In consequence of the constitutional revision 1,350,000 electors were authorized to cast 2,066,000 votes.

The new system resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Catholics in the elections of 1894. The effacement of the liberals gives fresh hope and strength to advancing socialism, and the old Catholic party itself is breaking up into two hostile factions.

Holland or the Netherlands. — William II died in 1849.

William III reigned until 1890. His two sons, William and Alexander, passed away some time before his death. In 1879, when sixty-two years old, he married, as his second wife, the Princess Emma of Waldeck and Pyrmont, who was only twenty. Their daughter, Wilhelmina, succeeded at the age of ten, her mother taking the oath as regent. On August 31, 1898, this last descendant of William the Silent, on the completion of her eighteenth year, became sovereign in reality as well as in name. The formal coronation took place a week later. Probably the Dutch had never greeted any event with such enthusiasm as the formal accession of their fair girl-queen.

The Constitution, granted the Netherlands in 1815, was revised in 1848 and 1887. The people, not being discontented with their government, were only slightly affected by the European commotions of 1848. In 1896 an Electoral Reform Act conferred the right to vote on all Dutchmen twenty-five years old. Legislative functions were vested conjointly in the sovereign and a Parliament consisting of an upper, or first, and lower, or second, Chambers. Party divisions in Holland have been mainly religious, and the burning question still is as to the introduction of religion in the schools. Of late years the Catholics, who constitute a little over a third of the population, have been inclined to unite with the conservatives, or orthodox Protestants, against the liberals, who oppose religious instruction in state institutions.

Holland still retains extensive colonial possessions, especially in the Pacific, with an area of 783,000 square miles and a population of 35,000,000. An insurrection of the people of Atjeh in Sumatra, which has gone on in intermittent fashion for twenty-five years, has been a heavy tax upon her resources. In 1862 she abolished slavery in the Dutch West Indies. Her East Indian possessions are in a far less satisfactory condition.

On the death of William III, Adolf, Duke of Nassau, succeeded as Grand Duke of Luxemburg.

The Five Smaller States and the Balkan States.—These five smaller states—Denmark, Sweden-Norway, Switzerland, Belgium and Holland—are superior in population and territory as well as in civilization and material prosperity, to the five Balkan states—Roumania, Montenegro, Servia, Bulgaria and Greece. But during the last fifty

years all of them, except Denmark, have mercifully been spared the experience of war. They have given rise to few problems of international importance. They have been permitted with little or no interference from outside to work out their individual destiny.

The Balkan states, on the other hand, although inhabited by peoples still more ancient, are only just born into political life. They have been of late the occasion and the theatre of many destructive wars. Their vicinage to Constantinople makes them still the battle-ground of European diplomacy. The uncertainties and complications of their future render them to-day of more vital interest than any other territory of equal extent within the limits of the continent.

XIV

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

Spain. Reign of Isabella II (1833-1868). — Ferdinand VII died in 1833, leaving two daughters, Isabella and Maria Louisa. Isabella, the elder, a child of three, became queen, and her mother Christina was appointed regent. The Carlist war distracted the country for seven years, until 1840. That same year Marshal Espartero, Duke of Victory, seized the power, forced Christina into exile and, a military dictator, installed himself as regent. A coalition, headed by his bitter enemy, General Narvaez, afterwards Duke of Valencia, drove him from the country. The queen was declared of age (1843). Espartero had been devoted to the British. Narvaez was no less so to the French party, which now became dominant. Louis Philippe secured the hand of Maria Louisa for his son, the Duke of Montpensier, and brought about the marriage of Queen Isabella to her cousin, Francis d'Assisi, who was equally diseased in mind and body (1846). By this arrangement, if Isabella died childless, the throne would revert to her sister and to the son of Louis Philippe. No woman was ever more cruelly sacrificed than this young queen, married on her sixteenth birthday. Whatever the later follies and even crimes of Isabella II, they were largely due to the heartless craft of a cold-blooded king.

The revolutionary tidal wave of 1848 crossed the Pyrenees. But isolated republican movements were quickly repressed. The camarilla, or clique of royal favorites, crowded Narvaez from office (1851). In March the government signed a concordat with the Pope, prohibiting the exercise of any religion other than the Roman Catholic, placing all education under the control of the clergy and submitting all publications to their censorship. The government further proposed such amendments to the inoperative Constitution as would formally deprive the Cortes of its prerogatives and render the sovereign absolute. These

amendments were superfluous, but even any semblance of liberty was to be effaced. The army and the workmen of the large cities combined in successful revolution (July, 1854). For two years Espartero and Marshal O'Donnell, minister of war, directed affairs and followed a more liberal policy. Then came two years of clerical reaction. O'Donnell had founded the Liberal Union, recruited among the advocates of mild reform or opponents of absolute despotism. It carried him into power (1858) and sustained him as prime minister until 1863. He sought to divert attention from domestic troubles to foreign affairs. Thus he invaded Morocco (1860), joined Napoleon and Great Britain in the Mexican expedition (1861), attempted the overthrow of the Dominican Republic (1861-1865) and began a senseless war against Peru (1863-1866). Most of these enterprises ended in utter failure, unaccompanied by glory and enormously increasing the national debt.

O'Donnell was replaced by Narvaez. The queen surrendered herself entirely to priests and favorites. The darkest days of absolutism and bigotry returned. Spanish Protestants were condemned to the galleys for no other crime than their faith. All newspaper articles were to be submitted to the censor before publication. The Cortes passed a law that any person on suspicion could be arrested and imprisoned. Meanwhile discontent and indignation were seething all over Spain. Packing the prisons to overflowing could not drown the general complaint. Yet none were so blind and deaf as the queen and her counsellors. Narvaez was able to terrify the opposition, dissolve the Cortes and expel Marshal Serrano, the president of the Senate. Narvaez was merciless and strong, but he died (April 23, 1868) and his successor, Gonzales Bravo, though merciless was weak.

The Revolution (1868). — The three persecuted parties, the progressists, unionists and democrats, coalesced. The Marshals Serrano and Prim issued a pronunciamento against an intolerable government. Then came the crash in one mad, universal upheaval. Hardly an arm was raised in behalf of the queen, who fled to France (September 30, 1868).

Political Experiments (1868-1875). — During the succeeding eight years there were few political experiences which the unhappy country did not endure. During the trial of each experiment its opponents did their utmost, by noisy

demonstration or secret plot, to make it a failure. At first the dual dictators, Marshal Serrano and Marshal Prim, were the one, president of the council and commander of the army, and the other, minister of war. The Cortes met (February 12, 1869) and proclaimed a Constitution, the supposed panacea for every evil (June 5). A less number of deputies were opposed to a liberal monarchy than to any other system, so the Constitution was drawn up in that sense.

Marshal Serrano was made regent (June 16, 1869) and devoted himself to finding a king. Among other princes who declined the proffered crown was Leopold, a Hohenzollern prince, whose supposed candidacy furnished the occasion of the Franco-Prussian war. Prince Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, son of Victor Emmanuel, gave a favorable answer. He was elected by a majority of the Cortes (November 15, 1870). The very day he landed at Barcelona (December 28) Marshal Prim, the minister of war, was murdered at Madrid. The assassins lodged eight bullets in his body. Amadeo was crowned and remained in Spain for two years. He did his best to rule well, but the clergy, the nobles and the republicans opposed him at every step and offered him all possible insult. The Carlist war broke out again with fresh fury, under another Don Carlos, grandson of the old pretender (1872). Disheartened and disgusted, Amadeo abdicated (February 11, 1873). The next day the Cortes declared the republic. Months of wrangling among the republican factions resulted in the proclamation of Señor Castelar as president with dictatorial powers. He had been professor of philosophy at the University of Madrid. He was an orator, a patriot and a statesman, but he could not rule Spain. He resigned (January 2, 1874). At once General Pavia, at the head of the army, expelled the Cortes and made Marshal Serrano military dictator. Marshal Campos proclaimed the restoration of the Bourbon dynasty in the person of Alphonso, the son of the deposed queen (December 29, 1874). This measure was supported by the general sentiment. Marshal Serrano made no opposition and Alphonso XII returned from England, where he had been a student in the Royal Military Academy, and ascended the throne.

Reign of Alphonso XII (1875-1885). — The present Constitution was proclaimed on June 30, 1876. The political

liberties it secures are large in appearance. But ambiguous or qualifying phrases make it a liberal Constitution hardly more than in name, and place the reality of power in the hands of the sovereign, the executive. Legislative functions are exercised by the Cortes, which consists of a Senate and Congress of equal authority. The Senate is composed of senators "in their own right," — members of the royal family, grandees enjoying an annual income of over \$12,000, captain-generals, admirals, archbishops and presidents of the supreme councils and courts — of senators named for life by the sovereign and of 180 senators elected by privileged bodies. The entire number at no time can exceed 360. The Congress of 431 deputies is elected by universal suffrage. By the law of June 26, 1890, all male Spaniards twenty-five years of age, except certain disqualified persons, are allowed to vote. The Cortes meets annually, and may at any time be suspended or dissolved. In the latter case a new Cortes must sit within three months. The Constitution declares Roman Catholicism the religion of the state, but no person can be molested for his private opinions or for the exercise of his own faith. At the same time no publicity of celebration or announcement, such as a notice upon the walls, is allowed to other communions.

The Carlist war was entirely suppressed. Estella, the headquarters of insurrection, surrendered (February 19, 1876) and Don Carlos fled to France. The Carlist party none the less exists to this day. His partisans were recruited among the mountains of the Basque and Navarrese provinces, which still retained their *fueros*, or special privileges, such as exemption from imposts and from military service. These *fueros*, which few preceding governments had dared to touch, were now formally abolished by vote of the Cortes (July 21). Another civil war was necessary to carry the vote into effect.

The disorder elsewhere began to diminish. The Carlists for a time were harmless. The republicans broke up into cliques or, under the lead of Castelar, rallied to the support of the throne. Two monarchist parties, the conservatives and the liberals, emerged from the political chaos. The former was led by Canovas del Castillo and the latter by Sagasta. One or the other of these two statesmen has been at the head of Spanish affairs since 1874, seven times succeeding each other as prime minister.

Reign of Alphonso XIII. Regency of Queen Christina (1885-). — Alphonso XII died in his twenty-eighth year (November 25, 1885). His daughter, Maria de las Mercedes, would have succeeded had not the birth of a posthumous brother, Alphonso XIII (May 17, 1886) deprived her of the crown. The queen dowager, Christina, an archduchess of Austria, had been declared regent. A devoted wife, her whole life since the death of her husband has been consecrated to her son. If the young prince ever sits upon the throne, it will be due to his mother's sagacity and devotion. Nor is it strange if, in the effort to make him king, dynastic interests have sometimes outweighed the interests of Spain.

The queen confided the direction of affairs to Señor Sagasta, and indicated her preference for a liberal policy. The financial situation gave most concern. There was an ever-growing deficit, but any attempt to curtail always provoked fierce opposition. The socialists and anarchists redoubled their activity. At Xeres the latter tried to seize the town, and at Madrid to blow up the palace of the Cortes. The troubles at Barcelona could only be put down by martial law (1892). Meanwhile the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America was celebrated with enthusiasm all over the country, but riots at Madrid ended the festivals. The one need was money. One day the mayor of the capital was to pay 16,000,000 pesetas. There were only 769,000 in the treasury. At Barcelona during a review an anarchist bomb severely wounded Marshal Campos, the commander-in-chief, and killed some of his staff, and at the theatre another bomb killed twenty spectators and wounded many more (1893). An insult from the Moors suddenly engrossed attention. Morocco escaped war only by agreeing to pay an indemnity of 20,000,000 pesetas. Though smuggling was openly carried on, proposals to lower the tariff brought the country to the brink of revolution. Officers attacked the liberal newspapers and destroyed the presses. Catalonia rose in revolt. The republicans demanded the deposition of the dynasty. At the end of his resources, Sagasta resigned. Canovas formed a cabinet (March 22, 1895).

Cuba. — The chronic insurrection in Cuba had assumed alarming proportions. In the mind of the new prime minister, the Cuban question dwarfed all other problems with which he had to deal. He demanded an unlimited credit.

The army of General Gallega, commander of the Spanish troops in the island, though often reënforced, had been horribly decimated by yellow fever. Marshal Campos, considered the ablest soldier in Spain, was appointed to lead a new expedition. He selected with care 200 officers and 7000 men. General Valdez, director of the military school at Madrid, was his chief of staff. He sailed on April 2, 1895.

During the next two years and a half, though riots, rebellions and hideous anarchist outrages went on in Spain and the state of the finances grew constantly more appalling, Cuba filled the political horizon. Insurrection in the Philippines only diverted partial attention to the East. Had Cuba been, like Crete, an island in the Mediterranean Sea, Spain would have felt less concern. Its nearness to the United States rather than apprehension of the insurgents was the ground of her anxiety.

The hopes entertained of Marshal Campos were not realized. He was replaced (January 17, 1896) by Lieutenant-General Weyler, whose former cruelties in Cuba and Catalonia had given him a sinister reputation. This appointment roused outspoken indignation in the United States. Spain, however, regarded all expressions of American sympathy for the inhabitants of the island as insincere and prompted by selfish motives. While dreading intervention she took no efficient measures to remove the abuses on which intervention might be based. Nor was she likely to give a colony a much better administration than her own people enjoyed at home. The ministry however announced certain unsatisfactory reforms (February 6, 1897), of which the most prominent was the grant of a kind of autonomy to Cuba; but these reforms were to be applied only after the island was tranquil. The prime minister, Señor Canovas, was assassinated in broad daylight by an anarchist (August 8, 1897), and his lifelong rival, Señor Sagasta, took office.

General Weyler's policy of terrorism had proved even less effective than Marshal Campos' policy of pacification. Even the Spaniards denounced him. Formal communications from the American government (September 19 and October 5) increased the gravity of the situation. General Weyler was recalled and General Blanco appointed in his stead (October 9). A radical change in policy, with full autonomy for Cuba, was attempted. It was too late. Events had marched beyond the control of statesmanship

or diplomacy. An indiscreet letter of the Spanish minister at Washington, Señor de Lome, caused his resignation (February 8, 1898). The American battleship *Maine* was blown up in the harbor of Havana (February 15) with the loss of 250 seamen and two officers. Common opinion attributed the catastrophe to the Spanish officials. In the United States the growing sentiment in favor of intervention could no longer be repressed.

Pope Leo XIII offered to mediate between the Cuban insurgents and the mother country (April 4). The six European Powers presented a joint note to President McKinley in the interests of peace (April 7). On April 20 President McKinley signed a resolution of Congress recognizing the independence of Cuba. The same day he sent an ultimatum to Spain, but before it could be delivered the Spanish government notified the American minister, General Woodford, that diplomatic relations with the United States were at an end. War had begun.

After an unbroken series of defeats, M. Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, in behalf of Spain, sued for peace (July 20). The peace protocol was signed at Washington (August 12). Spain relinquished all sovereignty over Cuba, ceded Porto Rico and all her possessions in the West Indies, and whatever island in the Ladrões the United States should select, assented to the occupation of Manila, — bay, harbor and city, — leaving to the treaty hereafter to be signed all matters relating to the Philippines, and agreed to immediately evacuate the West Indies. Both governments were to suspend hostilities as soon as the protocol was signed. Five commissioners from each nation, no later than October 1, were to conclude the definite treaty of peace.

Thus Spain departed from the hemisphere which she revealed to the world 406 years before. The news of peace was received with satisfaction by her exhausted people. She has now to concern herself with domestic affairs, but tranquillity is not the normal condition of the Iberian peninsula.

Portugal. — Doña Maria da Gloria II died in 1853. Her father, Pedro I of Brazil, had abdicated the Brazilian throne that he might devote his life to placing the Portuguese crown securely upon her head. Soon after expelling the usurper, Dom Miguel, Dom Pedro died (1834). The young

queen, a girl of fifteen, was left in a position of extreme difficulty. The country was in a condition hardly better than anarchy, and was threatened on one side by Great Britain and on the other by Spain. The great mass of the people were indifferent to politics, either domestic or foreign, but petty chiefs, who could seldom muster a thousand followers, kept the kingdom in continual turmoil. They veiled their pretensions under devotion to the liberal Constitution of 1812 or the democratic Constitution of 1822 or the absolutist Charter of 1826. But it is hard to discern in the machinations of progressists or septembrists or chartists anything higher than the eagerness of men out of power to dispossess those who held it and to obtain it for themselves.

Maria da Gloria was succeeded by her son, Pedro V. Since he was a minor his father, Ferdinand, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, acted as regent. Throughout this reign pestilence ravaged the kingdom. The young king, who had become of age in 1855, devoted himself to the welfare of his people, and refused to leave his plague-stricken capital. He died of cholera in 1861, as did also his brothers, Ferdinand and John. The throne was left to their brother Luiz. With him the shattered kingdom enjoyed at last a peaceful and prosperous reign. His death (October 9, 1889) caused profound grief all over the country. He had married Maria Pia, the daughter of Victor Emmanuel, king of Italy. Their son, Carlos I, is the present king of Portugal.

No European dynasty is more deservedly esteemed and loved by its subjects than the Portuguese house of Braganza. Nowhere is the stiffness of royal etiquette more relaxed, and nowhere are the relations of sovereign and people more familiar.

At the same time the condition of the kingdom is unsatisfactory. A naturally rich country is impoverished and bankrupt. The expenditure exceeds the revenue. It has been necessary to repress the anarchists with a stern hand. The 800,000 square miles of colonies, some of them dating from the proud days of the nation, are a burden rather than a source of income, and have several times involved troubles with other states. The army weighs heavily on a population of less than 5,000,000. But yet Portugal is in a far less unhappy state than fifty years ago.

The constitutional Charter of 1826 is still the fundamental

law. It has been modified at various times, lastly in 1895. Careful not to confound administrative functions, it enumerates them distinctly as the legislative, executive and judicial, and places above them the moderative, or the royal, power. Its strength is found in the sagacity of the sovereign and in the attachment of the people to the dynasty.

XV

GREAT BRITAIN

The British Empire. — The sovereign of the British Empire bears the title of "Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and of its Colonies and Dependencies in Europe, Asia, Africa, America and Oceania." The immensity of this title is bewildering. But it affords only a faint indication of the stupendous fact that the British sovereign reigns not only over the most enormous empire the world ever saw, but over one vaster than the Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian and Roman empires of Nebuchadnezzar, Cyrus, Alexander and Augustus Cæsar united. Its entire territory amounts to over 12,000,000 square miles, almost a quarter of the total land surface of the globe. Its inhabitants, subjects of the queen, number 390,000,000 human beings, more than a fourth of all mankind. Its pre-eminence upon the sea is even greater than upon the land. Its merchant navy has a tonnage of 13,641,000 tons, exceeding by 3,940,000 tons the tonnage of all the merchant fleets of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Italy, Russia and the United States combined. So the British seamen are not far wrong in regarding every ocean as a British lake.

That one little island, less than 90,000 square miles in area, on the western verge of Europe, has been able by its brain and enterprise to exert and secure such unparalleled and world-wide dominion is in itself the most astounding fact of modern history.

British interests, unlike those of any other people, are universal. It may be said that there is no point on the earth's surface that in some way does not touch Great Britain. In this sketch of the years between 1848 and 1898 nothing will be attempted beyond the outline of the most important facts.

Great Britain in 1848. — Queen Victoria had sat upon the throne since June 30, 1837. The two great Whigs were in office, Lord Russell as prime minister, and Lord Palmer-

CHANNEL ISLANDS

THE CASQUETS
 ALDERNEY
 GUERNSEY
 ST. PIERRE
 JERSEY
 St. Helier

Same Scale as Main Map

SHETLAND ISLANDS

VELL I.
 HILLSWARK
 PAPAY
 TOUR
 HALSEY I.
 MAINLAND
 BRASSAY
 Sunburgh Head

Same Scale as Main Map





THE BRITISH ISLES

SCALE IN STATUTE MILES



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ston as secretary of foreign affairs. It was the time of "unfulfilled revolutions." The chartist party, which had carried on agitation since 1832, went to pieces in a miserable fiasco (April 10). But its chief tenets, manhood suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, eligibility to the House of Commons, irrespective of property qualification, and payment of members, have already been accepted, or seem about to be accepted, as laws of the land. The Young Ireland party attempted armed revolution. Its leaders were arrested and sentenced, after trial, to transportation. But the Irish question remained to embarrass legislation through the remainder of the century and to force a gradual solution.

Repeal of the Navigation Laws (1849). — These laws were enacted in the days of Cromwell (1651). They were designed to cripple Holland, then the chief carrying power, and to develop English shipping. They prohibited the importation into England, Ireland or any English possession, of merchandise from either Asia, Africa or America, except in English built ships, commanded by Englishmen and manned by crews three-fourths of whom must be English. From Europe no goods could be imported except under the same conditions or in ships of the country where those goods were produced. Under these laws Holland had been crippled and the mastery of the seas secured to England. They had been gradually modified at various times. But they had become no longer necessary. Nevertheless their abolition encountered determined opposition.

The Great Exhibition (1851). — Since then there have been many universal or international exhibitions, notably at Paris (1867), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876), Paris (1878 and 1889), Chicago (1893), but that at the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park was unique, inasmuch as it was the first. Its inception was due to Prince Albert, the husband of Queen Victoria. The mere proposal to exhibit goods of foreign production and to invite foreigners to England encountered a storm of vituperation and abuse. The splendid edifice of iron and glass was itself the most fascinating part of a wonderful display. Over 30,000 visitors were present at the opening (May 1, 1851). The time chosen for the exhibition was most propitious, a sort of interim between the revolutionary storms of 1848 and the outbreak of the Crimean War. The Crystal Palace at Sydenham, erected

(1854) from the materials used in the Palace of the Great Exhibition, now affords some slight conception of how imposing was the structure in which the nations for the first time met in peaceful and beneficent rivalry.

The Part of Great Britain in the Crimean War (1853-1857). — Various causes led Great Britain to participate in this war. The chief was dread of Russian expansion. It is the only war with a European state in which the empire has engaged since 1815 down to the present time. The country could well be proud of the invariable pluck displayed by the common soldiers at Alma, Balaklava and Inkerman. The Crimean campaign gave the world the inspiration derived from the deeds and name of Miss Florence Nightingale and directly contributed to the foundation of the Red Cross at Geneva in 1863. But in every other respect it brought a terrible disillusion to the British people.

The empire, almost omnipotent upon the water, found itself almost impotent against a civilized enemy on the land. The generals were incapable and sick. Confusion, disorder and fraud prevailed everywhere. Abundant stores had been paid for and shipped, but the soldiers were without food and their horses without hay. Whole regiments were without shoes. Immense quantities of boots arrived, but were found to be all for the left foot. Medical and surgical supplies were always at the wrong place, and the wounded and cholera-stricken received no care. Most galling was the superior condition of the French. But their allies were generous and provisions were constantly sent to the British from the French camp.

Even on their own dominion, the water, there had been failure. Amid exuberant demonstrations Sir Charles Napier, with a magnificent fleet, had sailed to attack Cronstadt, but, without accomplishing anything, had been forced to return.

As the state of affairs in the Crimea became gradually known in England, there was an outburst of popular rage. Mr. Roebuck in the House of Commons introduced a motion to investigate the condition of the army and the conduct of the War Department. The government counted on its normal majority in a docile Parliament. It vigorously opposed the motion, which was none the less carried by a majority of 157. Indignation had proved itself stronger than party ties (January 31, 1855).

The energetic Lord Palmerston became prime minister. At once he despatched a sanitary commission to the Crimea and revolutionized the commissary department. The British were more ready for war, the day it ended than they had been at any preceding time. But Britain had learned a bitter lesson. She set herself to the reform of her military system. Probably her grave errors in that war she will never repeat.

Wars with Persia (1857) and China (1857-1860). — The Persian war was quickly finished. The Shah's army was beaten at Koushaub and most of his southern ports occupied. He obtained peace on condition of evacuating Herat in Afghanistan, which he had seized.

The Chinese war was caused by the overbearing policy of Lord Palmerston. The coöperation of France was easily obtained, as she had an outstanding claim against the Chinese. Canton was captured (December, 1857). By the treaty of Tien Tsin (June, 1858) China agreed to pay the expenses of the war, to no longer apply the term "barbarian" to European residents and to allow British and French subjects a certain degree of access to the interior. Again troubles broke out (1859), whereupon the allies stormed Peking, spent two days in burning the summer palace and forced China to accept their terms. This time she was to pay a main indemnity of \$20,000,000, with other minor indemnities, to accept a British envoy at Peking and to apologize for fighting at all. The vandalism of the allies in these expeditions was a disgrace to Western civilization.

The Indian Mutiny (1857-1858). — Many causes have been assigned for the Indian mutiny. The all-sufficient cause is to be found in the detestation which the natives entertained for foreign rule, and in their belief that at last the opportunity had come to shake it off. India was not then a possession of the British crown, but of the East India Company. Chartered in 1600 with a capital of £68,000, that company had rapidly swollen until, in 1857, it controlled a territory and a population many-fold larger than the territory and population of the British Islands. Its authority was maintained by a large standing army, mainly composed of sepoys, or Mussulman or Hindu natives, but in part of British troops, and commanded by British officers. In 1857 many of the European soldiers had been withdrawn

and the sepoys were left in dangerously large proportion. The latter were discontented and sullen. Mutinies were frequent, but had been always put down. Then a rumor spread among the troops that their new cartridges had been smeared with swine's fat, a defilement to the Mussulman, and with cow's fat, a profanation to the Hindu. The cavalry regiment at Meerut mutinied (May 10). Insurrection flooded northern India like a volcanic eruption. It was not a concerted movement. It did not embrace all India. But it put in peril everything that Englishmen had acquired in the peninsula during 250 years. It revealed unsurpassed heroism among the British, both men and women, and made the names of Lieutenant Willoughby, General Havelock and many other British officers immortal. On the tomb of Sir Henry Lawrence, who was slain during the siege of Lucknow, the following words were engraved, "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty." The glorious epitaph would have applied no less well to hundreds of men and women who died during that awful time.

During their brief day of power, the sepoys had inflicted every conceivable horror upon their victims. When fortune changed, their conquerors were no more merciful. The mutiny was not entirely crushed until June, 1858. Soon afterwards the rule of the East India Company was terminated and the government of the country vested in the crown. Lord Canning was appointed the first viceroy of India (November, 1858).

Lord Palmerston Prime Minister (1859-1865). — Accused of subservience to the French emperor, Lord Palmerston had fallen from power in 1858. The conservative ministry of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli did not last twelve months. Lord Palmerston again became prime minister, Lord Russell secretary of foreign affairs and Mr. Gladstone chancellor of the exchequer. This strong Cabinet controlled the destinies of the empire for six years. One of its most important measures was the Cobden treaty with France (1860), whereby an immense step was taken toward free trade. In Jamaica an insurrection was repressed by Governor Eyre with extraordinary severity (1865).

The Civil War in America (1861-1865). — When the war of secession broke out, the attitude of Great Britain caused surprise and disappointment in America. With unfriendly haste the British government recognized the Confederacy as

a belligerent, and issued a proclamation of strict neutrality between the Federal Union and the seceded states (May 13, 1861). Then, regardless of its own proclamation, it permitted privateers like the *Florida* and the *Alabama* to be built in English yards and manned with English sailors in order to prey upon American commerce. Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone and many members of the House of Commons, especially liberals, made remarks and speeches which left a sting. The Duke of Argyle, John Stuart Mill and the Manchester party of Cobden and Bright were staunch friends of the North. Mr. Disraeli was absolutely impartial. An American captain forcibly removed Confederate envoys from the *Trent*, a British mail-boat (November 8). This unjust act was speedily disavowed by President Lincoln, but the negotiations concerning it were conducted by the British secretary in an arrogant and overbearing tone. It was commonly believed that the American Union had broken to pieces, and Lord Palmerston never spared those whom he considered weak. While the controversy was hottest, the calm and judicious Prince Albert died (December 14, 1861), as sincerely lamented in the United States as in Great Britain.

Cotton had been obtained almost wholly from America. The blockade of the Southern ports cut off the supply and the mills shut down. Only charity saved the operatives from starvation. More than 480,000 persons in cotton-spinning Lancashire received assistance. But they believed slavery a crime. So, despite their misery, they never wavered in unselfish and never to be forgotten sympathy for the United States.

Second Reform Bill (1867). — Lord Palmerston died (October 18, 1865) and Lord Russell became prime minister. Mr. Gladstone was chancellor of the exchequer. His Reform Bill failed, and Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli returned to office. The latter, convinced that the country urgently desired electoral reforms, introduced and carried what is known as the Second Reform Bill. This was a democratic measure, adding to the list almost 1,000,000 voters, specially among the workingmen. In the boroughs all householders who paid rates and lodgers who occupied buildings of an annual value of ten pounds became voters. So, too, in the counties did persons occupying houses or lands of twelve pounds annual value. This bill abolished

many inequalities, disfranchising small constituencies and securing increased representation to large ones.

First Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone (December, 1868-February, 1874). **The Irish Question.** — The elections under the Reform Bill gave the liberals a large majority and made Mr. Gladstone prime minister. The badly organized and ill-fated Fenian movement had been noisily dragging along for nine years. Mr. Gladstone grappled at once with the Irish question. Ireland had serious grounds of complaint. Those most apparent could be grouped roughly under two heads, the Church and the Land. As to the Church: the large majority of the Irish were intensely Catholic, but the Irish state church was Protestant, Anglican and heavily endowed. As to the Land: the position of the tenant was little removed from serfdom and he was practically at the mercy of his landlord. He could be evicted at the landlord's pleasure, and had no claim for money expended and improvements made. Mr. Gladstone's measure for the disestablishment of the Irish church and its partial disendowment became a law on July 26, 1869. His other measure, which freed the tenant from the grip of his landlord, guaranteed him the fruits of his labor and protected him by a special judiciary arrangement, became a law on August 1, 1870.

The Alabama Claims.—Under the "Alabama Claims" is summed up the gravest case the United States have had against Great Britain since 1776. Mr. Adams, the American minister to the Court of St. James, gave notice (November 20, 1862) that the United States solicited redress for the public and private injuries caused by the *Alabama*. Lord Russell denied any British liability for the same. Mr. Adams (April 5, 1865) submitted an official memorandum of the losses caused by the *Alabama*, and similar ships of war which had gone from Great Britain. He had previously suggested arbitration. Lord Russell replied that the British government declined "either to make reparation or compensation . . . or to refer the question to any foreign state." Succeeding British cabinets were less reserved.

The Johnson-Clarendon Convention to adjust these claims was rejected as unsatisfactory by the American Senate (April, 1869). The United States took no further action. Later on, when the European political sky grew threatening, Great Britain herself made overtures for an adjustment

(January, 1871). After long negotiations the whole matter was submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, the president of the United States, the queen of Great Britain, the king of Italy, the president of the Swiss Republic and the emperor of Brazil each appointing one commissioner. The tribunal, the British delegate alone dissenting, decided that the British government had "failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations," and awarded the United States an indemnity of \$15,500,000 (September 14, 1872).

Second Prime Ministry of Mr. Disraeli (February, 1874-April, 1880). — Mr. Disraeli was created a peer under the title of Lord Beaconsfield in August, 1876. His administration concerned itself little with domestic politics, but won spectacular triumphs in foreign affairs. One morning he announced in the House of Commons that he had secured Great Britain proprietary control of the Suez Canal by purchasing the shares of the khedive of Egypt for £4,000,000 (February, 1876). He consolidated the authority of the queen over India by inducing her to assume the proud title of Kaiser-i-Hind, Empress of India, and by assembling a gorgeous durbar at Delhi, where all the chief native princes acclaimed Victoria as the successor of the Great Mogul (January, 1877). This dramatic ceremony made deeper impression upon the Oriental mind than any display of armies could have done. By peaceful convention with Turkey he acquired the island of Cyprus, which is of importance in commanding the Suez Canal, but, above all, counterbalances the Russian fortress of Kars and threatens the Syrian route to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf (June 4, 1878). He imposed the Congress of Berlin on Russia (June, 1878), thus forcing that victorious empire to submit to the arbitrament of Europe and vindicating the principle that what concerns all cannot be decided by one alone. The territorial decisions of that congress, as of all similar international assemblies, were certain to be modified by circumstances and time, but the fact that the congress convened was a striking diplomatic triumph for Great Britain. The reverse of the picture is found in the Zulu war (1877-1879), the attempted annexation of the Transvaal Republic (1878-1881) and the second Afghan war in search of "a scientific frontier" (1878-1881), none of which increased the reputation of British justice or British arms.

Lord Beaconsfield died a year after his departure from office (April 19, 1881).

Second Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone (April, 1880-June, 1885). — The defeat of the University Bill for Ireland had thrown Mr. Gladstone from power in 1874. The Irish question thrust itself to the forefront throughout his second administration. In 1873 the Irish Home Rule movement had begun. Its founder, Mr. Butt, and his great successor in leadership, Mr. Parnell, were both Protestants. It sought self-government for Ireland in local affairs, but by legal means without violence. In 1879 the National Irish Land League was formed. It aimed at abolishing the iniquitous landlord system and introducing peasant proprietorship. The landlords were in the habit of evicting their tenants and the tenant of committing outrages in revenge. The government passed a coercive act, arrested Mr. Parnell and the Irish leaders, threw them into prison and suppressed the Land League. Lord Frederick Cavendish, chief secretary for Ireland, and Mr. Burke, permanent under-secretary, were assassinated in Phoenix Park, Dublin (May 5, 1882). In unhappy Ireland coercion and murder kept pace.

Occupation of Egypt (1882). — The khedive acted as both ruler and proprietor of Egypt. The enormous loans which he had obtained in Europe resulted in the country being placed under the dual financial control of Great Britain and France. Rapidly succeeding khedives were lazy and weak and the interests of the natives were entirely ignored. France withdrew from the combination. Colonel Arabi Pasha raised the cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and began to fortify Alexandria. He desisted at the remonstrance of the British consul. A native mob plundered the European quarter and murdered several foreigners. Arabi Pasha went on with his defences. The British fleet bombarded the city, and meanwhile the infuriated populace massacred more than 2000 Europeans (July 12, 1882). Two days later the British forces disembarked and took possession. Arabi Pasha concentrated his army at Zagazig and Tel-el-Kebir. Attacked by General Wolseley (September 13), the Egyptians fought bravely, but finally took to flight, leaving 2000 dead. Arabi Pasha was exiled to Ceylon and the British have since occupied Egypt.

Mohammed Achmet, who proclaimed himself the Mahdi,

raised his banner in the Soudan and defeated four Egyptian armies (1880-1882). Next he destroyed an anglo-Egyptian force of 10,000 men, commanded by General Hicks Pasha and forty European officers. (October, 1883). Of the host only two persons escaped death. General Gordon was sent from London (January 18, 1884) to extricate the Egyptian garrisons still remaining in the Soudan. Just one month later (February 18) he reached Khartoum, which was at once invested by the Arabs. In desperate need of assistance he seemed to be forgotten by his government. Toward the end of the year a powerful expedition started with precipitate haste to his relief. A few days earlier it might have saved him. Before it arrived, Khartoum had been captured and Major-General Gordon, one of the saintliest and most heroic soldiers England ever produced, was slain by the Arabs on January 27, 1885.

The Third Reform Bill (June, 1885). — This bill emphasized the progress of Great Britain toward universal suffrage, adding nearly 2,000,000 voters, largely from the agricultural classes, to the list. It redistricted the country on the basis of population and rectified the former undue proportion of members allowed the towns. Heretofore the towns had one deputy for every 41,200 inhabitants and the country districts one deputy for every 70,800.

First Prime Ministry of Lord Salisbury (June, 1885-February, 1886). **Third Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone** (February, 1886-August, 1886). **The Irish Home Rule Bill.** — The liberal majority of 120 in the Commons had gradually shrunk to a minority. Lord Salisbury became prime minister. Five months afterwards Mr. Gladstone again took office. To the new House 335 liberals had been elected, 249 conservatives and eighty-six Irish home rulers. The system of coercion pursued by Mr. Gladstone in his former ministry had utterly failed. Completely reversing his preceding policy, he introduced an Irish Home Rule Bill. The Irish members abandoned their temporary alliance with the conservatives and rallied to its support. But the bill was opposed by many liberal leaders, among them Lord Hartington, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Chamberlain and John Bright, who took the name of liberal unionists. It was defeated by a majority of thirty. Parliament was immediately dissolved.

Second Prime Ministry of Lord Salisbury (Aug., 1886-

August, 1892). — The elections had given the conservatives and liberal unionists a majority of 112 over the Gladstonians and Irish home rulers combined. The policy of Lord Salisbury's second administration was vigor in foreign relations and renewed coercion in Ireland. The Bering Sea controversy with the United States in regard to the seal fisheries began in 1886 and was supposed to have secured a settlement in 1893. Parliament dissolved in 1892, having filled its allotted span of six years.

Fourth Prime Ministry of Mr. Gladstone (August, 1892-March, 1894). **Lord Rosebery Prime Minister** (March, 1894-June, 1895). **Third Prime Ministry of Lord Salisbury** (June, 1895-). — This time the united Gladstonians and Irish home rulers obtained a majority of forty-two, though among the English members there was an adverse majority of seventy. Mr. Gladstone was again prime minister. The Home Rule Bill, victorious in the House of Commons, was defeated in the House of Lords by a vote of more than ten to one. The venerable prime minister, at the age of eighty-four, resigned his high office, and advised the queen to intrust Lord Rosebery with the formation of a Cabinet.

Dissensions and internal rivalries soon further weakened the liberal party. At the elections in July, 1895, the conservatives obtained a clear majority and are no longer dependent on their still faithful allies, the liberal unionists, for support. The Irish question could not however be shelved. The ministry itself introduced 'an Irish Local Government Bill, which was approved by the House of Lords on July 29, 1898. The foreign policy of Lord Salisbury in his present ministry has been less vigorous than of old. In international questions, like the Armenian massacres or the Cretan insurrection, Great Britain has been content to act or to abstain from acting in concert with the great Powers. But no American should forget, when recalling our struggle of this present year with Spain, that the sympathies of the British government and people were almost unanimously upon our side. Lord Salisbury and the Englishmen of 1898 have not repeated the blunder of Lord Palmerston and the Englishmen of 1861-1865. On May 19, 1898, Mr. Gladstone died at the age of eighty-eight, admired and regretted by the world.

Characteristics of the Reign of Queen Victoria. — The first and most apparent is its length. Already the venerated

queen has honored the throne for more than sixty-one years. Edward III was king for fifty years and George III for fifty-nine. Thus the present sovereign has surpassed all her predecessors in the length of her reign. In its prosperity, its increasing imperial strength and its intellectual brilliancy, the only other English reign which can be brought into comparison is that of another woman, Queen Elizabeth. But the England of the sixteenth century was an undeveloped child beside that giant among the nations, the British Empire of to-day. This reign is memorable for its constant advance in political reform. The Civil Service Reform (1853-1855), the Removal of all Disabilities from the Jews (1859), the Abolition of Army Purchase and University Religious 'Tests' (1871), the Ballot Act (1872), the Act for the Prevention of Corrupt Practices at Elections (1883), the Plimsoll Act for the Better Protection of Seamen (1886), the Employers' Liability Bill (1897), are among those hard-wrung acquisitions which, once secured, contribute to make a nation strong and great.

Mr. Disraeli and Mr. Gladstone. — Their swords first clashed in the House of Commons in February, 1852. The agony of their contest ended only when Gladstone pronounced his eloquent eulogy over the bier of his rival in April, 1881. Each thrice succeeded the other as chancellor of the exchequer. In the same year, 1868, both vaulted to the summit of British political ambition. Twice Mr. Disraeli gave place to Mr. Gladstone as prime minister. Disraeli, at first a radical, became a conservative, and Gladstone, at first a conservative, became a liberal. In both there always remained something of their earlier political creed. Disraeli failed in his Reform Bill of 1859, but gave the workingmen the Reform Bill of 1868. Gladstone failed in his Reform Bill of 1867, but gave the agricultural classes the Reform Bill of 1884. Disraeli presented Great Britain with Cyprus, a province of the Sultan, and Gladstone presented her with Egypt, another province of the Sultan. Both were endowed with unusual talent, but Gladstone was born in the purple of politics and Disraeli was the child of an ostracized race. To Gladstone honors came apparently unasked. To Disraeli honors came because he forced them to come. Each served Great Britain with his might. The figure of Gladstone, overshadowing because to-day removed from the world, hides to our eye the titanic proportions of

his rival so long under the sod. But as both recede in the horizon of the past, the problem will constantly grow more difficult as to which was the greater. For nothing is the reign more memorable than that two such men, through almost a generation, were pitted against each other in a political duel such as the history of statecraft nowhere else presents.





XVI

PARTITION OF AFRICA, ASIA AND OCEANIA

Seizure of Unoccupied Territory. — A main characteristic of contemporary history is the division among themselves by the European Powers of the "unoccupied" portions of the globe. By "unoccupied" are meant all regions, not already reckoned as possessions of European governments or held by descendants of Europeans who have burst colonial bonds and founded independent states. That is, those territories which are not controlled by Europeans, or by descendants of Europeans, are politically reckoned as not "occupied" at all. This is simply the application in the nineteenth century of the principle held unquestioned 400 years ago.

The newly discovered western hemisphere was looked upon and treated by European nations in the sixteenth century as land destitute of inhabitants, or at most lived upon by inhabitants who had no political and almost no other rights. The treaties made with the natives were generally, in the estimation of the new-comers, merely additional precautions of self-defence, like the forts and stockades they built. As the stockades and forts were abandoned, when no longer of advantage, so, as the colonists grew strong, the treaties were commonly forgotten. The exceptional instances, when such was not the case, as in the dealings of William Penn, are dwelt upon as remarkable and awaken no more admiration than surprise. Some nations were less inhuman than others, but the process of converting the "unoccupied" into the "occupied" was everywhere the same. Nor did priority of occupation ensure possession to one European against another, unless it could be maintained by force.

The entire theory and practice of sixteenth-century occupation has been revived, specially in the last half of the present century. The justice or injustice of its application has never changed. If it was right when, at the end of the

Middle Ages, undreamed of regions were revealed to the wonder of Europe, it is right now. If it was wrong then, it is wrong now. The relatively increased superiority of the civilized over the uncivilized in arms and efficiency has made latter-day conquest more speedy and more effectual. Often it has been no less stoutly resisted. But conquest has not been essential to political occupation. Hundreds of thousands of square miles have been "occupied" with hardly the firing of a shot. International conventions and agreements have indicated upon the map a partition of lands and peoples, of which meanwhile the human beings appropriated have known nothing.

Before the year 1848 the Western hemisphere was "occupied." The weakness of its smaller independent states, whose citizens were largely of European origin, was protected by the Monroe doctrine of 1823. This doctrine declared that the American continents should not "be considered as subjects for colonization by the European Powers." Upon this declaration Great Britain and France have been the only European Powers to infringe.

But the grasp after empire in the Old World outside Europe during the last fifty years has been feverish and almost universal. It has repeated in spoliation and appropriation all that the New World ever experienced. Distance has counted for nothing, and sometimes the worthlessness of the acquisition no more. Technically the system of annexation has varied in different circumstances and at different times. Yet, reduced to plain terms, the process has been uniform and simple, merely to seize and to retain. Previous to 1848 only a relatively small proportion of Africa, Asia and Oceania had been "occupied." Now in Oceania there is hardly an island over which there does not float a European flag. Africa has been parcelled out among the Powers as half a dozen heirs might divide the farm of some intestate dead man. Asia, most venerable in history, mother of the nations, has been compressed in a grip ever tightening around her receding frontiers, or has resembled an island whose diminishing outer rim the aggressive waters rapidly wear away.

Occupation of Africa. — In 1848 isolated European colonies dotted the coasts of Africa, but less than 400,000 square miles of territory acknowledged European proprietorship. Away inland from this sparse outer fringe stretched a vague

vastitude of 11,000,000 square miles, unpossessed and unexplored. All this enormous territory has been mapped out and divided up. The German Empire has taken 1,000,000 square miles; Belgium in the Congo Free State 900,000; France 2,900,000; Portugal 800,000; and other less formidable national adventurers 500,000 more. In all Africa Morocco, Abyssinia, Liberia and a portion of the unbounded Sahara are the only regions to which European Powers do not put forth a claim.

Great Britain has already secured over 3,000,000 square miles. The present expedition up the Nile (August, 1898), under General Kitchener, aims at the conquest of the Sudan between Egypt and British East, or Equatorial, Africa. Its already assured success renders possible at no distant day the completion of a British trans-African railway, over 5000 miles long, from Alexandria to Cape Town, passing all the way through British territory.

The Boer Republics. — Nor has later occupation respected prior rights of European settlers, except as vindicated by arms. The Boers, descendants of the early Dutch colonists, a simple, primitive, Bible-reading people, emigrated from Cape Colony, after it became a British possession, and founded on the north and along the coast the Dutch Republic of Natal. The British, whose only claim was founded on superior strength, conquered and annexed this republic in 1843. Again the Boers emigrated, this time to the west and the interior, and founded the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, or South African Republic. The independence of both was formally recognized by the British government. To overthrow these two states and annex their territory of 168,000 square miles has been the constant endeavor of the British colonies of Natal, Cape of Good Hope and Rhodesia, which surround the Boer states except on the northeast. The British government was persuaded to proclaim the annexation of the Transvaal (April 12, 1877), but the Boers successfully resisted, by arms, this assault upon their independence. Likewise, in 1896, they defeated and captured a British force which, in violation of all treaties, was marching against their capital. Any participation in this attack was disclaimed by the British government, but the absorption of the brave little republics is only a question of time.

Occupation of Asia. — Asia might appear inviolable with her immensity of 14,700,000 square miles and her popula-

tion of 850,000,000 souls. Her countless hordes, set in irresistible motion by a sudden common impulse, were until modern times the terror of mankind. Genghis Khan has not been dead 700 years nor Tamerlane 500. Yet, except Japan, which was galvanized into unwilling life by the United States in 1853 and seemingly sure of existence for the present, all Asia is at the mercy of Europe and protected only by the jealousies of the Western states. While other nations are active in their struggle after a share in Asiatic spoils, her conquest and division is being accomplished above all by Great Britain and Russia. Between the upper, or northern, millstone of Russia and the lower, or southern, millstone of Great Britain, she is being ground with the remorselessness of fate.

The barriers of the Caucasus were overthrown by the surrender of the Circassians and Schamyl (1859) to Prince Bariatinski. The Caspian has become a Russian lake. Nominally independent Persia is so completely under Russian influence as to resemble a protectorate. Across the subjugated khanates of Bokhara (1873), Khokand (1875), and Khiva (1875), Russia has pushed her outposts as far as the Tien Shan, or Celestial Mountains. By Turkestan, Siberia and Manchuria she envelops China on the west, north and northeast in a great concave.

In Southern Asia, Beloochistan, since 1854, has gradually disintegrated into a British "political agency." Afghanistan, on which Great Britain has expended millions of pounds and thousands of lives, still maintains a fluctuating, savage independence. Its emir, Abdur Rahman, elated with his successes, assumed (1896) the pompous Afghan title of "Light of Union and Religion," but the division of his states between the two empires is not thereby rendered remote. One-eighth of the Asiatic continent and more than a third of its entire population are contained in British India. By the acquisition of the feudatory state of Sikkim (1889) Great Britain plunges through the Himalayas and imperils China on the south. The kingdom of Burmah was attacked and annexed to the British dominions in 1885. To Singapore have been gradually annexed, mostly since 1848, the petty states of the Malay Peninsula under the name of the Straits Settlements.

The disintegration of the Chinese Empire was begun by the British in the opium war (1839-1842), by which the

island of Hong Kong was acquired. The opposite peninsula of Kau-Lung was ceded to Great Britain after the English and French wars with China in 1856-1860. Manchuria, north of the Amur and east of the Usuri, was ceded to Russia in 1860.

France, eager for Asiatic territory, annexed Cochin-China (1861), Cambodia (1862), Anam and Tonking (1884) and Siam east of the Mekong River (1893-1896), altogether an area of 383,000 square miles.

Japan, in one respect at least, caught the European spirit. She was emulous of similar conquests. After more than three years of careful and extensive preparation she believed herself ready and forced war on China (1894). The latter was wholly unprepared. Japan was everywhere victorious, both on sea and land. By the treaty of Shimonoseki (April 16, 1895), the conquerors compelled the cession of the island of Formosa (15,000 square miles) and an indemnity of 230,000,000 taels. Only the intervention of Russia, Germany and France rescued northeastern China from dismemberment by Japan.

During the last twelve months the Western Powers have engaged in rivalry, thus far without warfare, to acquire Chinese ports. The Germans obtained Kiao-chau (December, 1897), the Russians Port Arthur and Talien Wan (April, 1897) and the British Wei-Hai-Wei (April, 1897).

China is helpless to protect herself. No state is interested to defend her territorial integrity. A concession to any single Power awakens the jealousies of the rest, and its natural sequence is the demand for an equivalent. To all she is vulnerable along the Yellow, the Eastern and the South China seas. To only two, Great Britain and Russia, is she vulnerable by land. So, to her perils from all by water are added perils, more insidious because less manifest, from the two most powerful empires in the world. They hem her in upon the north, west and south, and no mountain boundaries are too high for the Russian and the Englishman to scale.

Occupation of Oceania. — Oceania is a comprehensive and elastic term, commonly denoting the islands of the Pacific and Indian oceans. The largest of these, Australia, because of its prodigious extent of over 3,000,000 square miles, is often reckoned a continent. It is a British possession. Now inhabited by an active population of more

than 3,500,000 people, its first settlement dates from the middle, and its division into the five great constitutional states of Victoria, Queensland, New South Wales, South Australia and Western Australia from the last half of the nineteenth century.

Papua, or New Guinea, "the largest island in the world," has been parcelled out between three Powers, Germany in 1884 acquiring 72,000 square miles under the name of Kaiser Wilhelm's land; Great Britain in 1888 acquiring 90,000 square miles; while the remainder, 150,000 square miles, is held by the Netherlands.

In Borneo, which is situated half-way between Australia and Hong Kong, a gradual accretion, since 1836, resulted in a formal British protectorate (1888-1890) over British North Borneo, Brunei, Sarawak and the Limbang River district, altogether about 81,000 square miles. Its remaining 203,000 square miles belong to the Netherlands.

Madagascar, with its 228,500 square miles, is reckoned "the third largest island in the world." After a long succession of wars with the natives on the part of the French, it was recognized by Great Britain as a protectorate of France (1890) and became fully a French possession in 1896.

The three islands of Tasmania, or New Zealand, comprise 103,900 square miles. They received their first immigrants in 1839. A little territory was ceded by the native chiefs during the following year. Great Britain was able to assert an undisputed control in 1875.

Among the myriad other islands are the more than 1200 Philippines and the Carolines, Sulus and Ladrones, which for centuries have belonged to Spain, but whose destiny is now undetermined. Their area is 116,256 square miles. There are also the Moluccas and Java and Sumatra and many others with spicy names, making an area of 338,000 square miles, which, together with the Dutch territories in Borneo and New Guinea, constitute the Dutch East Indies. They have belonged to the Netherlands since the dissolution of the Dutch East India Company in 1798.

In the Pacific Great Britain acquired the 200 Fiji Islands, 8045 square miles, by cession of the native chiefs (1874); Pitcairn Island (1839); Labuan Island (1846); the twelve Manihikis (1888); the sixteen atolls called the Gilbert Islands (1892); Malden Island, rich in guano (1866); and

eighteen islands of the Santa Cruz and Duff groups (1898). She has also secured, mostly since 1848, the fifteen Hervey, or Cook Islands, the Palmerston Islands, Ducie Island, the Suvarof Islands, Dudoza Island, Victoria Island, the five clusters of the Tokelau or Union Islands, the eight Phœnix Islands, the islands and groups of the Lagoons, Starbuck Island, Jarvis Island, Christmas Island, Fanning Island, Washington Island and Palmyra Island. She acquired the southern half of the Solomon Islands (1893), Germany having seized the northern half of that archipelago in 1886. The New Hebrides Islands have been shared by Great Britain and France. To the thriving Island of Mauritius, taken from the French (1810), Great Britain has since added in one colonial dependency the Rodrigues, Seychelles, Amirantes, Cargados and the Oil Groups. The independence is at present recognized of the 150 Tonga, or Friendly Islands. So is that of the Samoan Islands by convention between Germany, Great Britain and the United States in 1889.

The Route to India. — To fortify the sea route to India and to hold the natural strongholds in the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, from which the British Indian Empire might be threatened, has been the untiring preoccupation of British statesmen. This has been rendered necessary by the completion of the Suez Canal in 1869. The chain of Gibraltar (1704), Malta (1800), Cyprus (1878) and the Suez Canal itself (1876) is continued by the volcanic peninsula of Aden (1839), since enlarged by an acquired protectorate over an inland region of 8000 square miles, by Perim Island (1857), Sokotra Island (1876) and the Kuria Muria Islands off the Arabian coast. These last acquisitions guard the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb and render the waters of the Red Sea more distinctively British than is St. George's Channel between England and Ireland. The eight Bahrein Islands, famous for their pearls, since 1857 sentinel in British interests the mouth of the Persian Gulf. With what might seem superfluous solicitude Great Britain annexed the Andaman Islands (1858) with a territory of 1760 square miles, the nineteen Nicobar Islands (1869) with a territory of 634 square miles, and the numerous coral group of the Laccadives with 744 square miles.

Results of Territorial Expansion. — In this movement of territorial expansion four nations have led the van. Dur-

ing the last fifty years Great Britain has taken possession of over 3,600,000 square miles of "unoccupied" territory, France of over 3,200,000 square miles and Russia and Germany of about 1,200,000 square miles apiece. Some of these acquisitions have been prompted only by lust for mere land or to forestall some other grasper. Increase of area always gratifies national vanity, but it by no means always indicates or secures corresponding increase in national wealth and strength.

Whatever the French and German colonial possessions may become in the future, thus far they have proved only a burden and a cause of expense without proportionate gain. In France, where the population is almost stationary, the land well divided among many petty proprietors and the colonial instinct weak, there is little to impel to emigration. Algeria is close to France, separated only by the width of the Mediterranean. Its natural advantages are great. Nowhere could French colonization have a more accessible and a more attractive field. Yet, after sixty-eight years of occupancy, the French colonists are fewer in number than those from the other European states, and the annual expenditure — not including interest on the growing debt nor necessary appropriations for the army and navy nor the cost of original conquest — exceeds the revenue by more than 19,000,000 francs. In the same way other and remoter French possessions, like Anam, Tonking, Madagascar and Cochin-China, make no effective appeal to French emigrants and are exhaustive drains upon the resources of France.

The Germans are a more prolific people than the French and more adventurous. Unequal distribution of land in their native country and social inequality render them ready emigrants. But they show disinclination to colonize where the imperial German system prevails. The Kameruns in Africa have been a colony for thirteen years. Their coast line is more than 200 miles long and their area more than 191,000 square miles. But in 1897 they had only 181 German residents. In Kaiser Wilhelm's Land, German since 1884, there were in 1896 only ninety-seven Germans. That is, in both colonies united there were not so many German emigrants as constantly cross the Atlantic from Bremen in a single ship. There is not a state in the American Union in which there are not to-day from four times to 1200 times as many German-born inhabitants as in both these two pet

colonies of the Kaiser. There are few if any German colonial dependencies where the revenue is a third of the expenditure.

The acquisitions of Russia and Great Britain, on the other hand, have been made in accordance with the nature of their people and on the lines of a sound policy. Neither has been tempted by mere territorial aggrandizement to acquire or retain what was without value or might become a source of weakness. So Russia was ready to sell Alaska, in 1867, to the United States and to give Japan, in 1875, the Kurile Islands in exchange for the southern half of Saghalien. Likewise, Great Britain, in 1864, could cede the Ionian Islands to Greece ; and Heligoland, in 1890, to Germany.

Russia is an immense, continuous land empire, situated in the north with a minimum of coast line. Her northern harbors are closed by ice through a large part of the year, and her southern harbors are prevented by physical or other causes from free access to great bodies of water. Her natural expansion would be eastward, southward and toward the sea. Thus in the Caucasus, the Ottoman Empire, Persia, Turkestan and China she has ever pushed in this direction. Her conquests she easily assimilates and amalgamates their inhabitants to her own people.

Britain, the island centre of the British Empire, has no other highway than the seas. Her people are active, venturesome and aggressive. The contracted limits of the island force the expatriation of its prolific children. No other people equal them as colonizers and no other are so at home the world over. Commercial instinct joins with marvellous manufacturing ability to seek and find everywhere a market. As the development of Russia is inevitable and resistless by land, so is the development of Great Britain inevitable and resistless by sea.

XVII

THE UNITED STATES

American History. — The most important of all histories to an American is that of his own country. Not only does it appeal to his patriotism, but in it is found as nowhere else the story of self-government by the people. Moreover, during the last fifty years few nations have equalled the United States in contributions to the sum of human welfare and progress. A history so interesting and comprehensive cannot be summed up nor will it be sought in the limited compass of any compendium. This book deals primarily with European history. It will therefore be the object of this chapter to merely touch upon those points wherein the United States have come in contact with the rest of the world, rather than to narrate internal and domestic affairs.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848). **The Gadsden Purchase (1853).** The last half century is bounded at both its beginning and end by a war, the one with Mexico, the most powerful and most populous of the Spanish-American states, and the other, in 1898, with Spain herself. The first war, after a series of American successes, was terminated by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (February 2, 1848). Thereby the United States secured from Mexico the cession of 526,078 square miles and agreed to pay in return \$15,000,000 and to satisfy claims of American citizens against Mexico to the amount of \$3,250,000. This cession was rounded out in 1853, when Mr. Gadsden, for the sum of \$10,000,000, purchased from Mexico, to which he was the American minister, 45,535 square miles south of the river Gila. From the region thus acquired have been carved California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and part of Wyoming, Colorado and New Mexico.

The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty (1850). — Intense excitement followed the discovery of gold in California early in 1848. During the following year between 80,000 and 100,000 eager gold hunters crowded to the newly opened mines. The



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United States already enjoyed the right of transit across the Isthmus of Panama, but it was of supreme importance to open up direct water communication with the distant territory. The consent and coöperation of Nicaragua was obtained by treaty for the construction of a ship canal from San Juan on the Atlantic through the lake of Nicaragua to the Pacific coast. But Great Britain claimed to exercise a protectorate over the Mosquito Indians, who were supposed to occupy the eastern coast through which the canal was to pass. She refused to permit its joint construction by Nicaragua and the United States. In the subsequent negotiations between Mr. Clayton, the American secretary of state, and Sir Henry Bulwer, the British ambassador at Washington, who acted in behalf of the British government, Great Britain scored the diplomatic victory known as the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. By this treaty both the United States and Great Britain renounced any exclusive control over the proposed ship canal. At the same time, they both agreed to neither occupy, fortify nor colonize Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito coast or any part of Central America. The British government asserts that the first clause of the treaty is still in force. The American government, on the other hand, maintains that, as "Great Britain has persistently violated her agreement not to colonize the Central American coast," the treaty is void. The Spanish-American war of 1898 has even increased the necessity of a canal connecting the two oceans and has emphasized the fact that it must be under the unshared control of the United States.

Complications with Austria (1849-1854). — Great sympathy was felt for the Hungarians in their struggle with Austria. An agent was sent by President Taylor to obtain definite information as to whether recognition of the revolutionary government was warranted. Afterwards the frigate *Mississippi* was commissioned to bring the exiled leader, Kossuth, to the United States, where he was received with great enthusiasm. The Austrian chargé d'affaires at Washington sharply protested against the despatch of the agent and the reception of Kossuth. Daniel Webster had become secretary of state. He replied in a powerful state paper, setting forth the principles by which the American nation considered itself controlled in dealing with international affairs.

Later on trouble arose over Martin Koszta, a Hungarian refugee, who had filed (1852) his declaration preliminary to naturalization as an American citizen. Visiting Smyrna in Asia Minor, in 1854, he was seized at the instigation of the Austrian consul-general by the crew of an Austrian frigate and thrown into irons. This was in contempt of the fact that he had an American passport in his possession. Demands for his release were refused. Thereupon the captain of an American man-of-war, then in the harbor, prepared to use force and cleared his deck for action. Koszta was then placed by the Austrians under the charge of the French consul-general, and was soon afterwards allowed to return to America.

The Ostend Manifesto (1854.) — The acquisition of Cuba, "the gem of the Antilles," was ardently desired by the Southern states of the American Union. Its chronic misgovernment called forth their sympathy, but, above all, if a possession of the United States, it would add to their political power. Under the direction of President Pierce Messrs. Buchanan, Mason and Soulé, the American ministers to Great Britain, France and Spain, met at Ostend to consult as to the measures necessary for its acquisition (1854). Then they issued the results of their deliberations in what is called the Ostend Manifesto. This paper set forth the grounds on which the annexation of the island was desired. It caused a profound sensation and a measure of apprehension in Europe.

Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan (1852-1854). — In 1637 all foreign traders, except the Dutch and the Chinese, were expelled from Japan. By exceptional favor the Dutch were permitted to occupy the small, artificial island of Deshima in the harbor of Nagasaki. Their commerce however was severely restricted, no vessels being allowed to enter except one merchantman a year from Batavia, the capital of the Dutch East Indies. Up to the middle of the present century the Japanese jealously maintained their seclusion from the rest of mankind. The country suffered under a dual system of government, whereby the power of the *de jure* ruler, who resided at Kioto, was curtailed by the *de facto* ruler, the shogun, who resided at Yedo or Tokio. Meanwhile a party of less illiberal ideas was growing up which, while detesting the foreigners, desired to gain from abroad whatever advantages it could. It was

ignorant and ill-informed, but appreciated the superiority of foreign arms, arts and inventions.

Suddenly, without previous intimation of its coming, an American fleet made its appearance in the bay of Yedo (July 8, 1853). The astounded city was terror-stricken. No such sight had ever been seen in Japanese waters. That fleet had left America late in 1852 under the command of Commodore Perry, who was invested with extraordinary powers for the conclusion of treaties with Japan. As the bearer of a letter from President Fillmore, he refused to enter into communication with any except the highest dignitaries in the land. The Japanese were perplexed but courteous. The letter was delivered to the emperor. Then Commodore Perry sailed away, but returned in the following spring for his answer. His diplomatic ability after tedious negotiations partially broke down the bars of separation. It was agreed that the ports of Shimoda and Hakodate should be open to American vessels, that an American consul should reside at Shimoda and that Americans should enjoy a certain liberty of trade and travel in some of the coast cities. This first treaty between Japan and a foreign state was signed on May 31, 1854. The other nations in quick succession sought and obtained the same advantages. But it was the honor of the United States to have led the way. Without the firing of a shot she had opened Japan to the brotherhood of nations, and had brought Western civilization and commerce to her ports.

The United States and China (1858-1892). — The war carried on by the allied British and French against China in 1856-1860 gave much concern to the American government. Hon. W. B. Reed was sent by President Buchanan to watch the course of events and mediate if possible between the contending parties. On behalf of his government he negotiated a commercial treaty with the Chinese, wherein the language of several clauses reveals their well-founded suspicion of Western aims and methods. For six years (1861-1867) Hon. Anson Burlingame was American minister to the "Middle Kingdom." His rare tact made him the virtual director of the empire in its foreign relations. When about to return home, he was tendered and accepted the high position of envoy extraordinary from China to the Western Powers. With French and British secretaries and Chinese attachés he returned to his native country, and

there negotiated a treaty, advantageous and honorable to both China and the United States, which was approved on July 16, 1868. Ten years later (1878) a Chinese embassy was established at Washington, when Chen Lan Pin was received by President Hayes as minister plenipotentiary. Fourteen years later still the Chinese Exclusion Act was introduced to "absolutely prohibit the coming of Chinese persons to the United States." Its object was to prevent the immigration of Chinese laborers. Their immigration had assumed so large proportions as to cause anxiety, specially on the Pacific coast. The bill, called the Geary Act because introduced by Mr. Geary of California, after some modifications was approved by both Houses and received the signature of President Harrison (May 5, 1892).

The Civil War (1861-1865).—The question of slavery had become the most persistent and complex in American political life. Prominent ever since the foundation of the Union, gradually it had crowded all other questions to the background. In 1860 fifteen states employed slave labor. The sixteen other states did not. The former were commonly called Southern or slave states, and the latter Northern or free states. The presidential election of 1860 disclosed the nation drawn up in sectional lines. Mr. Lincoln uttered a great truth when he declared, in 1858, that, "This government cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. . . . It will become all one thing or all the other." An overwhelming electoral defeat proved to the Southern states that they could not in the Union extend their peculiar labor system beyond their own borders. Inside their own borders they believed that system in danger. Eleven states asserted that they had a right to secede, passed enactments withdrawing from the Union, and formed a political association under the name of the Confederate States of America.

The corner-stone of the new state edifice was slavery. The eleven states had seceded in order to extend, or at least perpetuate, slavery. The great majority of the other states regarded secession as a crime and took up arms to maintain the Union. The seceded states took up arms to vindicate their right of secession. Slavery had brought on the armed conflict, but the perpetuity or dissolution of the American Union was the vital issue.

The first gun was fired when Fort Sumter, off Charleston,

South Carolina, was attacked by the Confederate General Beauregard, on April 12, 1861. The surrender of the Confederate General Lee to General Grant took place at Appomattox Court House, in Virginia, on April 9, 1865. These two events mark the armed beginning and conclusion of a civil war which, as to the number of soldiers engaged, the number of battles fought and the cost of the struggle, is unequalled in history. To maintain the Union the Federal government brought into the field 2,778,304 soldiers. To overthrow the Union the Confederate government brought into the field nearly 1,000,000. Altogether in that four years' agony there were 2265 engagements, ranging from petty skirmishes between handfuls of men up to pitched battles lasting for days and fought with ferocious determination between hundreds of thousands. Over 360,000 Federal soldiers fell in battle or died of wounds or disease. The Federal debt at the conclusion of the struggle had swollen to \$2,808,549,437.55. The entire cost to the victorious party is commonly reckoned at \$8,000,000,000, figures so vast that they baffle realization. "Never in the same space of time has there been a material expenditure so great."

The arbitrament of the sword decided two questions which, with equal definiteness and permanence, could be determined in no other way. The first question concerned the American Union, the permanence of which was demonstrated and guaranteed. There was to be but one flag from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the Lakes to the Gulf. The second question concerned the system of human slavery, which was abolished upon the continent. Under the protection of that flag all were to be free men.

On April 14, 1865, the great-hearted president, Mr. Lincoln, was smitten down by the hand of an assassin. In his arduous office he had so borne himself as to win the respect and admiration, not only of his own country, but of the world. His murder called forth universal expressions of grief and horror.

When the war ended there was no proscription of the conquered; no court martials or gibbets blackened the land. The survivors of the victorious and vanquished hosts returned at once to the ordinary avocations of life, and, with no shock to the body politic, devoted themselves to the pursuits of peace. But all the disorders of a four years' war could not disappear in a day. It is not strange that

secession, even after it was overthrown, left the seceded states in an anomalous condition. The so-called period of reconstruction lasted for twelve years.

Most of the foreign Powers, at least their governing classes, had never believed in the stability of the American Republic. At first Europe considered the Civil War certain to result in the dissolution of the Union. Except as involving larger masses of men and spread in a wider area, it was regarded somewhat as we are wont to look upon revolutions and commotions in the states of Central or South America. As it progressed the world looked on aghast at the proportions of the struggle, but continued incredulous of Federal success. Napoleon III and a powerful party in Great Britain wished to recognize the Southern Confederacy. Such recognition would have plunged the American government in war with Great Britain and France, at a time when its utmost resources were strained in the effort to overthrow the Confederacy. It was the statesmanship of Mr. Seward, secretary of state, and the diplomacy of Mr. Adams, minister to the Court of St. James, which rescued the nation from imminent foreign peril. But they could not prevent the fitting out of the *Alabama* and of her ten sister corsairs in British ports, which swept American commerce from the sea. The final adjustment of the *Alabama* claims is narrated in the chapter on the British Empire.

Question of the Northwestern Boundary (1872).—The water boundary on the northwestern frontier between the United States and the British possessions was still in dispute. A group of islands, of which San Juan, "the Cronstadt of the Pacific," was the most important, formed the so-called Haro Archipelago in the waters between Vancouver Island and Washington Territory. To these islands both the United States and Great Britain laid claim. The question was submitted by the two interested parties to the German emperor for arbitration. His decision assigned the entire group to the United States.

The Centennial Exhibition (1876).—This year the United States celebrated the hundredth anniversary of independence. It was felt that in no way could that great event be more fitly honored than by an exhibition in which all the nations of the world should be invited to take part. The appropriate spot for such a gathering was the historic city in which the Declaration of Independence had been signed.

With small assistance in the labor and cost on the part of the national government, the project was carried to a triumphant conclusion. The city of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and some of the thirteen original colonies were specially instrumental in its success. The exhibition was opened by President Grant. It was visited by 9,910,000 persons. There were over 30,000 exhibitors. Spain and her colonies made a more numerous display than did any other foreign state.

The Newfoundland Fisheries. The Halifax Award (1877). — The treaties with Great Britain after the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 left the rights of American fishermen off the coast of Newfoundland in a state of irritating uncertainty. Nor did subsequent efforts to adjust their grievances meet much success. The definite specifications of the treaty of Washington (1871), it was claimed by the British government, granted greater advantages in the fisheries to the Americans than to its own subjects. It was decided that a commission of arbitration should determine the compensation which ought to be paid therefor by the United States. The two commissioners being unable to agree, the Austrian ambassador to London was invited to nominate a third member. He named the Belgian minister to the United States. Meeting at Halifax (1877) the arbitrators decided, by a vote of two to one, that the United States should pay "\$5,500,000 for the use of the fishery privileges for twelve years."

The Presidential Election of 1876. — After a campaign of unusual vigor the result was disputed. Mr. Tilden, the democratic candidate, had received a plurality in the popular vote of 250,000 over Mr. Hayes, his republican opponent. But the election was to be decided by the votes of 369 electors, chosen by the several states. The democratic party claimed 203 of these votes, allowing 166 to the republicans. The republicans claimed 185, allowing 184 to the democrats. The four votes of Florida, the eight votes of Louisiana and the seven votes of South Carolina were claimed by both parties. There were also difficulties as to the vote of Oregon. The Constitution provided no way for meeting the emergency of a contested presidential election. From November 7, 1876, until March 2, 1877, the whole country was in intense excitement. Any solution was preferable to civil war. An extraordinary commission was

created. It comprised five justices of the Supreme Court, five senators and five members of the House of Representatives, and it was to decide. The commission consisted of eight republicans and seven democrats. By a strict party vote and a majority of one, Mr. Hayes was declared president. The entire nation at once accepted the verdict. It had passed through the most trying crisis in its political history. No severer test could have been applied to the patriotism and the love of peace of the American people.

Assassination of President Garfield (1881). — General Garfield had been chosen to succeed President Hayes and was inaugurated March, 1881. With Mr. Blaine, the secretary of state, he was about to take a train at the Baltimore and Potomac Railway station in Washington (July 2, 1881) when he was shot down by a half-crazy politician. The murderer, disappointed in his hopes of securing the consul-generalship at Paris, had resolved upon this revenge. The president lingered between life and death, and in great suffering, until September 19. His unflinching patience and heroism, together with detestation of the crime, awoke profound and equal sympathy both at home and abroad.

Civil Service Reform Bill (1883). — Appointment to civil office, even in the early days of the Republic, was based largely upon the principle of reward for party service. An incoming administration, on finding lucrative and important positions in the hands of political antagonists, replaced them by its own adherents. Thus a spoils system was rapidly developed. Under it a new executive was expected, and even required, to distribute among his own adherents the offices as a sort of conquered property. Furthermore, the incumbents were heavily assessed for contributions to party expenses. Various presidents denounced the abuse, with which none seemed strong enough to cope. The National Civil Service Reform League, founded in 1881, sought to substitute the spoils system by a merit system, determined by competitive examination. After much agitation, in 1883, the Civil Service Reform Bill, which had been introduced by Senator Pendleton of Ohio, was passed. This act applied to more than 14,000 offices, about one-half of which were in departments at Washington, and in twenty-five specified custom offices, and the other half in twenty-three post-offices. The act also aimed at the suppression of political assessments among officers of the government.

The Bering Sea Controversy over the Seal Fisheries (1886-1898). — The United States claimed, by the purchase of Alaska, to have acquired exclusive rights in Bering Sea. To protect the fur seals, which were in danger of extermination, it seized Canadian vessels engaged in the seal fishery in those waters (1886). The controversy arising was submitted to international arbitration. The commissioners met at Paris (1893), and their decisions were in the main unfavorable to the contention of the United States. But they unanimously prescribed regulations which, if enforced by the governments of the United States and Great Britain, would have been sufficient to prevent the extinction of a valuable industry. In 1894 the Canadian sealers agreed to accept \$425,000 in full settlement of their claims against the United States, but the dispute is not yet closed.

Trouble with Chili (1891-1892). — In the Chilean civil war (1891), which ended with the overthrow and suicide of President Balmaceda, the American minister had shown an injudicious and active sympathy for the defeated party. Afterwards he had afforded them an asylum at his legation and extended them his protection on their endeavor to leave the country. The Chilean authorities complained at this interference with their domestic affairs, but could obtain no redress from Washington. Soon afterwards some sailors of the American man-of-war, *Baltimore*, on landing at Valparaiso were attacked by a mob. Two sailors were killed and eighteen wounded. When satisfaction was demanded, the Chilean minister of foreign affairs, Señor Matta, gave an insulting reply. During the next month he fell from office. His successor instructed the Chilean minister at Washington to make an ample apology. Soon afterwards he requested the recall of the American minister, Mr. Egan, as a *persona non grata*. The American government was dissatisfied with the investigation of the murder of the sailors, refused to withdraw Mr. Egan, sent Chili an ultimatum and prepared for war. On January 23, 1892, President Harrison communicated a lengthy message to Congress, wherein he narrated the whole controversy in detail. On that same day, before the despatch of the presidential message, a humble and comprehensive apology was on its way from Chili, which prevented any further hostile demonstration.

The Columbian Exhibition (1893). — America was discov-

ered by Christopher Columbus in 1492. The American government and people determined that the 400th anniversary of that event should be celebrated in a manner commensurate with its magnitude. It was decided to request all mankind to participate in a commemorative world's fair, to be held at Chicago, the metropolis of the northwest. In pursuance of an act of Congress, approved on April 25, 1890, the president issued his official proclamation (December 24), inviting all nations to coöperate in the celebration. With splendid military and civil ceremonies the grounds and buildings were dedicated to the grand undertaking in October, 1892.

An international review, preliminary to the formal opening, was held in New York harbor (April 27, 1893). Spanish warships towed facsimiles of Columbus' vessels, the *Santa María*, *Nina* and *Pinta*, and in the pageant the warships of Great Britain, Russia, Germany, France and other nations took part. On the next day seamen and soldiers from the foreign men-of-war, in imposing parade, marched through Broadway and Fifth Avenue.

On Monday, May 1, President Cleveland, attended by the vice-president and cabinet, opened the Exhibition at Chicago. The president, in a brief address, declared that the true significance of the scene was found in the universal brotherhood which it exemplified. Then he pressed the electric button which set in motion the many hundred pieces of machinery. In the entire area of 666 acres, more than 142 acres were covered by buildings. Eighty-six principalities, colonies and nations were represented by exhibitors, who, during the summer, disposed of more than \$10,000,000 worth of the goods which they displayed.

Nor was the convocation limited to the visible and material. There was no branch of human thought and activity which was not represented by international congresses convened. Ninety-five special committees watched over the general divisions of the purely intellectual departments and appointed advisory councils for each. It was a world's parliament as much as a world's exhibition.

No words can do justice to, or give an idea of, the splendor and vastness of the whole, of the varied and exquisite architecture, or of the multitudes, representing all races, languages and lands, who thronged through its gates. On Chicago Day more than 700,000 persons were present.

Before it closed, on October 30, 1893, it had been visited by over 24,000,000 people. "Stupendous in conception and admirable in execution," nothing like it had ever been presented to mankind.

The Venezuela Message (December 17, 1895). — A dispute had long been going on between Great Britain and Venezuela. The latter country asserted that the former had encroached upon her territory and was arbitrarily advancing the boundary of British Guiana to her own advantage. It was believed in America that Great Britain was trampling upon the rights of a weak South American state. In a despatch to the British government (July 20, 1895), Mr. Olney, the American secretary of state, had recapitulated the points at issue and asked for a definite answer as to whether the British government would submit the Venezuelan boundary question in its entirety to impartial arbitration. He added, in conclusion, that a reply in the negative would contribute to embarrass the future relations of the United States and Great Britain.

The answer of Lord Salisbury, the prime minister (November 26), was a general denial of the Monroe doctrine as a doctrine of international law. Furthermore he asserted that, even were it to be regarded, that doctrine had no application to the case. He concluded by firmly refusing to even entertain the idea of arbitration.

In consequence of this definite reply, President Cleveland (December 17) sent a special message to Congress. He expressed his deep disappointment that Great Britain persisted in her determination not to submit the matter to arbitration. He declared it incumbent on the United States, by investigation, to determine "the true divisional line between the Republic of Venezuela and British Guiana." Then, after having once ascertained what of right belonged to Venezuela, he declared that it would be "the duty of the United States to resist by every means in its power" any aggression upon, or appropriation of the lands of that state. This was a strongly worded and a significant document. It was received with applause and approval in Congress, but popular sentiment was divided. Many supposed that Great Britain would fight rather than yield. In January, 1896, in accordance with his message, President Cleveland appointed a boundary commission to investigate and determine the true frontier. However, before this com-

mission reported, Lord Salisbury had abandoned his former attitude and consented to a treaty of arbitration between Venezuela and Great Britain. This treaty was finally ratified on June 15, 1897. All for which the American government had contended was attained.

Annexation of Hawaii (1898).—A revolution in the Sandwich Islands, or Hawaii, dethroned Queen Liliuokalani (January 16, 1893). At the request of the provisional government, the American minister landed a body of marines and proclaimed a protectorate of the United States over the islands (February 1). President Harrison strongly advocated their annexation, but the necessary two-thirds vote in the Senate could not be obtained. Mr. Cleveland, who soon again became president, opposed the measure throughout his entire term. With the advent to power of President McKinley the annexationists, both in Hawaii and the United States, redoubled their efforts. They were strongly supported by Mr. Dole, the Hawaiian president. The war with Spain, when Americans were compelled to fight in the far Pacific, showed still more clearly the importance of those islands to the United States. This time a two-thirds vote in both Houses approved annexation, and the bill was signed by President McKinley (July 7, 1898). Five years of delay had only increased the desire for their acquisition. The accomplished fact was received with general favor in both countries. On August 16 the Hawaiian flag was lowered from the official staff in Honolulu and the Stars and Stripes took its place.

War with Spain (1898).—It was unfortunate for Spanish supremacy that Cuba was hardly more than 130 miles distant from the United States. The contrast was presented close at hand of two forms of administration, the direct opposite of each other. On the mainland self-government by the people afforded material prosperity and security of life and fortune. On the island a despotic and corrupt colonial system ignored local interests and sought only the advantage of Spain, remote on the other side of the ocean. Neither civil, political nor religious liberty existed in Cuba. The Cubans were excluded from the public offices, which were filled by Spaniards, and oppressed by a heavy taxation to support the army and navy which held them in subjection. Their discontent grew more sullen through generations. They did not wish to become Americans, but it was natural

in the misery of their condition that they desired to possess and exercise some of the natural rights which their American neighbors enjoyed.

During this century they have made many conspiracies and insurrections. After Spain overthrew her Bourbon monarchy, in 1868, the Cubans at Manzanillo made a declaration of independence. Most of the South American states recognized them as belligerents. Spain was able to put down this movement only by sending to the island 150,000 soldiers under her ablest commanders. The suppression of this rebellion required twelve years. While it went on, trade decreased, agriculture was neglected, but the taxes were more than doubled.

During the period of partial tranquillity that ensued various measures of relief were proposed by the Spanish government. But as to enforcement they remained a dead letter. Slavery however was abolished in 1886.

The last insurrection assumed alarming proportions in 1894. The insurgents husbanded their strength. Avoiding pitched battles, they devastated the country and cut off Spanish detachments wherever they could. The reprisals of both parties were merciless. A reign of terror prevailed except in the larger and garrisoned towns. Sugar and tobacco were the two chief Cuban products. Incendiarism ruined the sugar cultivation in 1896. A decree of the Cortes (May 12, 1896) forbade the exportation of the tobacco leaf except to Spain. Tobacco leaf exports, over 30,000,000 pounds in 1895, shrank to half that amount in 1896. Thus the fairest island in the New World was rapidly relapsing into savagery and becoming a desert. Marshal Campos was despatched with large forces to reënforce the Spanish armies and restore order (April 2, 1895). General Weyler was sent to supersede him ten months later, but was in turn replaced by General Blanco in October, 1897. The latter came with a proposition of autonomy for the island. Incessantly a procession of warships was steaming across the ocean, bringing arms and ammunition and men. But the insurrection was not put down. Instead of showing weakness it developed strength.

An American instinctively sympathizes with any people fighting against oppression and for freedom. Sympathy for the Cubans was expressed, as it had been many times before, in party platforms, at public meetings, in the press

and pulpit and on the floor of Congress. With expense and difficulty the American government has sought through this century to enforce its neutrality laws. When general excitement prevails, this task is always difficult, even for a limited time. But when the disturbing causes are permanent and without alleviation, its performance becomes well-nigh impossible. Moreover, in such abnormal condition of affairs, a nation, so intimately involved in both its material and moral interests as the United States, has not only responsibilities to a foreign government, but duties to its own people and itself.

The American people did not wish for war; the desire, formerly existing for the annexation of Cuba, had died away, but they were resolved that the horrors in Cuba should cease.

None the less, President Cleveland and his successor, President McKinley, strictly observed their international obligations. A proclamation of warning was issued (June 12, 1895) to Cuban filibusters, and several men were arrested and lodged in jail. Another proclamation enforced neutrality (August, 1896). During that year the revenue officers captured seven filibusters and intercepted two expeditions. Many state conventions and legislatures in 1895 demanded that the Cubans should be recognized as belligerents. Resolutions to that effect passed the Senate by sixty-four votes to six and the House by 244 to twenty-seven (April, 1896). Such recognition to become effective required the assent of the chief magistrate, who withheld his approval. President McKinley, in 1897 and 1898, steadfastly opposed recognition of the independence of Cuba. But Spain was incensed at the persistence of the insurgents, at the impossibility of reducing them to subjection, and at the sympathy shown both them and the starving reconcentrados, or non-combatants, by the American people. Every communication from the American government was received with ill-disguised distrust and aversion.

To the mounting wave of popular sentiment, which seemed likely to sweep everything before it, two important events gave added volume. The first was of diplomatic gravity. A letter was written by Señor Dupuy de Lome, Spanish minister at Washington, which not only referred with insulting terms to the American chief magistrate, but contained an intimation that Spain was not acting in good

faith and was seeking, by trickery in her negotiations, to deceive the United States. This letter fell into the hands of the insurgents and was published (February 8, 1898). Señor de Lome resigned, but he had caused every after act of his government to be regarded with suspicion. This incident was trivial compared with an awful subsequent tragedy. On February 15, the American battleship *Maine*, while at anchor in the harbor of Havana, was destroyed by explosion. More than 250 officers and sailors were instantly killed. The American court of inquiry were of opinion that a submarine mine caused the catastrophe. But whether discharged by accident or design and, in the latter case, by whom, is unknown.

In view of possible contingencies the House of Representatives, by a unanimous vote, placed \$50,000,000 at the unqualified disposal of the president as a special fund for national defence (March 8). The Senate on the following day unanimously approved the same. After long delay, which contrasted strongly with the feverish impatience of the people, President McKinley sent an elaborate message on Cuban affairs to Congress (April 11). Temperate but firm in tone, it asked authority for the president to terminate hostilities between Spain and Cuba and to secure tranquillity to the tormented island. On April 19 both Houses recognized Cuban independence, invited Spain to withdraw her land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directed the president to employ the forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect. The next day an ultimatum was cabled to Madrid. Without waiting for its reception, the Spanish Cabinet informed the American minister, General Woodford, that Spain regarded the action already taken by the United States as a declaration of war.

The war thus began on April 21. On July 26, through M. Cambon, French ambassador at Washington, Spain opened negotiations for peace. The conflict had then lasted only ninety-six days. Its continuance had been an unbroken succession of calamities for Spain. To an American it is rendered memorable by the victory of Admiral Dewey in Manila Bay (May 1) when the fleet of Admiral Montojo was destroyed, by the annihilation of the squadron of Admiral Cervera off Santiago harbor (July 3), and by the surrender of the city of Santiago and of the adjacent dis-

trict with all the troops and munitions of war (July 17). The whole country knows the whole story by heart.

The peace protocol was signed (August 12) by Mr. Day, American secretary of state, and M. Cambon in behalf of Spain. Spain had been utterly crushed and was hopeless. Neither had she received real friendship from a single European nation in the hour of her necessity and distress. With generosity, rare on the part of a victorious nation, the United States imposed no pecuniary indemnity upon the vanquished. But Spain was to abandon all her trans-Atlantic possessions and withdraw from the New World. A suspension of hostilities was immediately ordered. But on the next day, before the news could reach them, the American forces in the Philippines had attacked and captured the city of Manila.

This last war was far more than a mere armed struggle between two peoples. However long delayed, the conflict was sure to come between the democratic spirit of America and the mediæval spirit of Spain. The continent was not broad enough for the permanent continuance of two so antagonistic systems face to face. When the two systems clashed in battle, no doubt was possible as to the ultimate result. But that the ships and sailors of the United States were destined in contribution to that result to achieve the first great naval victory ever won by a Christian nation on the waters of the Pacific, no man could have foretold. If the issues at stake were in their application world-wide, so too was the arena.

An attempt at this early date to sum up the consequences would be presumption. Two at least are already sure. At home, in the United States points of compass are blotted out. The lingering wounds of the Civil War are healed. For Americans there is now neither a north, a south, an east nor a west. There is only one common country. Abroad, the republic has made itself respected and recognized as it never was before. Its potent voice in behalf of humanity and freedom has been heard around the globe. The State can no longer remain isolated in the Western seclusion if it would. Almost against her will America has taken her seat in the parliament of the nations.

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